FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLITICAL IMPACT OF ANTI-CRUISE PROTEST VIEWED

LD291527 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 81 p 3

[Col M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "Counting on Force"]

[Text] "'Detente' has become a swearword in Washington"--that is how the West German magazine DIE ZEIT succinctly defined the essence of the present U.S. foreign policy course. Indeed, the policy of imperialism--above all American imperialism--is now erasing much of what was achieved in the seventies by way of the relaxation of international tension. Bellicose circles in the United States and other NATO countries, whipping up the arms race, aim to undermine the military-strategic equilibrium between socialism and capitalism and to change in their favor the correlation of forces in the world arena. As a result detente has come up against substantial obstacles. The danger of war, which decreased somewhat in the middle of the last decade, has now increased again.

The fact that the Washington administration is gambling on brute force and to this end is seeking a sharp buildup of arms--above all nuclear arms--is no longer concealed across the ocean. The American ruling circles' desire to ensure U.S. military superiority and a "position of strength" in international affairs has just been reasserted by Pentagon chief C. Weinberger. With the unceremoniousness and cynicism characteristic of current Washington figures, in an interview for a California radio station he advocated a change in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of the West. The secretary was breathless with rapture over the government's plans in the sphere of extending military preparations and called for the deployment of neutron weapons and new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

C. Weinberger's latest interview indicates yet again that some people in Washington either cannot or will not understand the threat inherent in such plans and are striving to accustom the people to the idea of the acceptability of nuclear missile war. The same aim is served by arguments about the alleged possibility of "limiting" such a war or, as they say, measuring it out in "doses." Behind these arguments lie sinister plans for a devastating nuclear missile war on the territory of Western Europe and the European part of the USSR. The transatlantic politicians and strategists who plan to unleash this war expect to sit it out in relative security.

An awareness of the threat hanging over the peoples is spreading increasingly widely among the West European public. In Britain and The Netherlands, Belgium and West Germany, Norway and Greece, and other countries on the continent the movement of angry protest against the North Atlantic bloc's militarist preparations, particularly against U.S. and NATO plans to deploy nearly 600 more American nuclear missiles of the new generation in Europe, is taking on a scale without precedent since the mid-fifties.

"More and more people with different political convictions," the FRG-published magazine BLAETTER FUER DEUTSCHE UND INTERNATIONALE POLITIK writes, "are coming to understand the danger inherent in the implementation of the NATO decision." The decision on deploying American cruise missiles in Britain, B. Kent, general secretary of Britain's campaign for nuclear disarmament, says, echoing the magazine, provided the impetus for a sharp activation of our struggle. As public opinion polls show, 56 percent of British people are opposed to the deployment of cruise missiles with nuclear warheads on British territory.

People of various political views, professions and faiths take part in the struggle against NATO's plans for nuclear "upgrading." Among them are not only communists and leftwing socialists, for instance, but also influential representatives of social democratic and even bourgeois parties, workers, employees, members of the free professions, Catholics, Protestants and atheists.

They are all united by one thing--the desire to prevent nuclear conflagration. Thus the youth organization of the bourgeois West German Free Democratic Party has adopted a resolution demanding that the FRG Government reject the plans concerning Pershing-II and cruise missiles, since their deployment will "serve only U.S. interests." The West German physicist K. Bechert, discussing these plans, called the Americans, with bitter irony, "our great friends who are only concerned with annihilating us."

Another aspect of the West European public's movement against U.S. and NATO plans is the increasing awareness of the true nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its consistent, peace-loving nature. America's TIME magazine, speaking of this, was forced to admit: "People here (in Europe--M.P.) do not believe in the Soviet threat."

The Soviet peace initiatives put forward in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress are meeting with increasingly active support among broad strata of the population in West European countries. At the same time increasing concern is aroused by the U.S. ruling circles' belligerence with respect to the USSR and their attempts to regard any international problem in the light of American-Soviet confrontation. Discussing these attempts, West German journalist R. Augstein wrote that U.S. policy is "destroying the equilibrium, since it does not seek equilibrium. This policy sets unreasonable goals for itself and for us."

The question arises: How do the governments of the West European countries which are U.S. partners in the North Atlantic bloc react to the public protests against the unrestrained arms race and against blind subordination to Washington's adventurist course in the international arena? The answer to this question is not a simple one.

On the one hand ruling circles in West European states are well aware what beneficial fruits were brought by the relaxation of international tension in the seventies and the expansion of equal international cooperation. In the conditions of increasingly profound economic difficulties they place a high value on trade and other ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. That is why the governments of a number of West European countries, in official statements, advocate not reckless confrontation with the Soviet Union, but the preservation of the valuable results of detente and the continuation of Soviet-American talks concerning strategic offensive arms limitation and other important questions of today. These ideas were expressed, for instance, by Danish Foreign Minister K. Olesen. In an article for the magazine NY POLITIK he particularly stressed the significance of maintaining relations with the Soviet Union and also of beginning Soviet-American talks on control over nuclear missile weapons. "The Federal Government is convinced that dialogue with the Soviet Union must not be interrupted, least of all in a period of political crises in the world"--these are the words of FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt.

That is the state of affairs on the one hand. But on the other, the U.S. NATO partners usually follow in the wake of Washington's policy, although this often runs counter to their own interests. Chancellor H. Schmidt again, in the same government statement, tried to hold the Soviet Union responsible for the present complication of the world situation and asserted that the Soviet Union is creating superiority for itself in medium-range missiles. It is no accident that the U.S. defense secretary, having just toured European countries, returned home, according to THE SUNDAY TIMES, convinced that "the U.S. NATO allies are united in their support for American policy."

How was this conviction arrived at? First, the point is that the common class interests of ruling circles in the capitalist states belonging to the NATO bloc sometimes prevail over the differences and contradictions which divide them. Fear in the face of the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism is making the rulers of West European countries rally around the strongest partner in the North Atlantic bloc--the United States--and close their eyes to aspects of Washington's policy which do not suit the West Europeans.

Second, West European countries' ruling circles see the United States as a kind of bulwark in the struggle against national liberation movements and against the desire of the developing countries which supply oil and other types of raw material important to the capitalist world to control their own natural wealth independently and in their own interests. This fact sometimes also persuades the U.S. West European partners to remain under Washington's thumb and tolerate even those features of its policy which do not suit them.

Third, nobody can fail to see the pressure which the American administration is bringing to bear on the NATO allies. Here the shameless demands for West European countries to increase their military budgets to suit Washington can be recalled. New expenditure on strengthening NATO's military might is demanded by American Gen B. Rogers, supreme commander of the bloc's Allied Armed Forces, and a number of other figures across the ocean--both military and civilian. White House defense adviser W. Middendorf displayed particular cynicism in this respect. He told the European NATO countries--and in particular the FRG--that their references to expenditure on social needs are "not exactly original." Not references to circumstances, but cash on the nail--that is the principle for Middendorf and his ilk. "We all have one and the same enemy--the Soviet Union," the White House adviser cries hysterically. "The Russians want to conquer the world and that is their aim."

Unfortunately such absurd assertions still work on some of the leading politicians in West European countries. When it comes to the adoption of concrete decisions, as a rule the United States manages to have its way. That emerged, for instance, from the results of the recent session of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group, held at the level of the member countries' defense ministers. Here C. Weinberger was able to obtain approval for his line from his West European colleagues. Turning the Nuclear Planning Group session into a platform for proclaiming the Reagan administration's military policy, the U.S. defense secretary made it absolutely clear that the West Europeans must play a weighty part, and received a positive answer. The NATO countries' defense ministers expressed their support for steps being taken by the United States to strengthen its strategic forces and for the Pentagon actions in launching the mass production of nuclear missiles intended for deployment in Western Europe. Moreover C. Weinberger succeeded in obtaining a commitment from the partners to link possible talks with the Soviet Union with...its "conduct toward Poland."

Forgetting their own interests and subordinating them to the U.S. ruling circles' interests cannot result in success for the West European NATO countries. They are increasingly becoming hostages to Washington's adventurist course. As for certain Western circles' attempts to talk to the USSR in the language of threats and their dangerous "cold war" brinkmanship, the Soviet Union's response to this is well enough known. The USSR will allow nobody to encroach on its legitimate interests or on its allies' interests. While acting persistently with a view to improving the international situation, the Soviet state does not relax its vigilance.

WARSAW PACT MILITARY COOPERATION REVIEWED

LD291441 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 81 p 3

[Col V. Semin article: "Combat Cooperation Developing and Strengthening"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress made an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Soviet Union's relations with the fraternal countries of socialism. The congress emphasized that substantial qualitative changes are occurring in the development of cooperation among the socialist community states: Their political ties are deepening, economic cooperation is improving, and socialist integration is gathering pace on the basis of long-term targeted programs. The military and political defensive alliance of the socialist countries, embodied in the Warsaw Pact, is continuing to strengthen. The states united within it closely coordinate their foreign policy activity in the interests of ensuring their own security and of preserving and ensuring peace throughout the world. At the same time they are developing military cooperation to defend the socialist countries' sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against imperialism's aggressive intrigues.

Describing the Warsaw Pact, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out that its activity plays an influential and beneficial role in European affairs and in international affairs as a whole. The special significance of the Political Consultative Committee was noted here. The Warsaw Pact's supreme political organ paved the way to the all-European conference. The sessions in Bucharest, Moscow and Warsaw drew up a program of measures aimed at consolidating peace and reducing the levels of military confrontation in Europe and other regions and put forward a number of new initiatives which received worldwide approval. The chief aim of these initiatives is up uphold detente and impart a vigorous rhythm to it.

In the interests of reliably defending the socialist gains of the peoples of the Warsaw Pact countries, the Political Consultative Committee resolves in good time the most important questions relating to the strengthening of the allied states' defense capability and to their fulfillment of their joint defense commitments. Implementing the agreed recommendations of the Political Consultative Committee, in recent years the state organs, national defense ministries and general (main) staffs of the Warsaw Pact countries, the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Joint Supreme Command and the Staff of the Joint Armed Forces have done great work on building the armed forces of the allied countries. As a result of their activity common characteristic features are manifesting themselves increasingly clearly in the development of the allied countries' armed forces.

First, as the fraternal countries' communist and workers' parties demand, the enhancement and further improvement of the quality of combat and political training, combat readiness, discipline and organization is taking place. The need for this stems from the present international situation. Its complex and contradictory nature induces servicemen of the Warsaw Pact states' armies to struggle actively for the improvement of combat readiness and to fulfill combat and political training plans to a high standard.

Second, a process of organically interrelated military-technical and social changes is occurring in the fraternal countries' armed forces. The military policy of the communist and workers' parties takes account of the fact that modern weapons and combat hardware not only ensure the proper combat strenth of the armed forces but also give rise to the need to improve the troops' organizational structure and the forms and methods of their combat actions and sometimes changes the nature of military service itself and of the personnel's life and routine.

Third, mutual ties are strengthening among the fraternal socialist armies. Combat cooperation is being enriched with new experience with every passing year. This trend is constantly developing and its effect increasing, for objective needs lie behind it.

It is the fruit of the consistent and increasing efforts of the CPSU and the fraternal socialist countries' communist and workers' parties and of the strict observance and implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism.

The systematic exchange of experience in the operational and combat training of troops and the building of the armed forces is of paramount significance in strengthening combat cooperation, improving interaction and enhancing the combat readiness of national armies and of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states. Conferences of the fraternal armies' leading personnel, during which the results of the combat and operational-tactical training of troops, fleets and staffs are summed up and new training tasks are outlined, have firmly entered the practice of relations among the allied armies.

In accordance with the plans of the Joint Supreme Command there are organized joint methodical demonstration exercises and musters, where the most complex tasks and themes of combat training are rehearsed and there is familiarization with the methods of using new technical training facilities and an exchange of experience in the rational equipping of training grounds, firing ranges, rehearsal terrains and classrooms. Thus, at just one methodical muster representatives of the allied armies demonstrated a sum total of more than 250 technical training facilities. The command of each army recommended that the best of these facilities be introduced into the practice of training its own servicemen.

A great role in strengthening and developing military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact countries is allocated to joint lessons and exercises. In 1979-80, for example, a number of motorized rifle, tank and artillery subunits of the Central Group of Forces underwent joint training in units of the Czechoslovak People's Army, and a similar number of subunits of the Czechoslovak People's Army was trained in units of the Central Group of Forces.

The newspaper OBRANA LIDU, central organ of the CSSR Defense Ministry, reported the useful experience which Czechoslovak friends acquired during the stay of their unit in a Soviet Guards tank company under the command of Snr Lt N. Yezhkov. "The first thing that strikes you on familiarizing yourself with a Guards company," OBRANA LIDU writes, "is the fact that all the platoon commanders and the company commander are first-class specialists in shooting and driving. This is very instructive for our company commanders, not to mention platoon commanders. The officers' high rating is clearly manifested in the standard of training on firing ranges, tactical exercises and so forth. This also determines the attitude of subordinates to their commanders: They set servicemen a real example and are capable of giving assistance and advice at any moment. A platoon commander, for example, can help not only a tank commander, gunner and loader but can also give quite skilled assistance to a driver-mechanic. Here the friends are guided by a true principle--there cannot be an excellent subunit without an excellent commander."

On joint exercises held in recent years, such as "Shield-76," "Shield-79," "Brotherhood in Arms-80" and "Soyuz-81" methods of the socialist countries' collective defense, cooperation among allied troops and control of them under complex situation conditions were rehearsed and resolute maneuvering of forces and means was carried out. On exercises servicemen rehearsed different tasks in different situations. These included defense, marches, meeting engagements, crossing of water obstacles and landing of airborne forces. However, whatever the code name under which the exercises were held and in whatever forms of combat the fraternal armies' servicemen improved their training, there was a common, characteristic feature of every exercise and battle. In close cooperation they displayed high skill and the ability to utilize comprehensively the might of modern military hardware and weapons. Acting shoulder to shoulder, the brothers in arms showed convincingly that they are ready to fulfill any tasks of guarding the sacred borders of the socialist community. The exercises contributed to the servicemen's further spiritual cohesion and helped to strengthen their combat friendship and to develop the qualities of revolutionary internationalist fighters. In recent years, spiritual contacts among soldiers of the fraternal socialist states' armies have become considerably enriched and more fruitful, firm contacts among the allied armed forces' political organs have entered into everyday practice.

At meetings of representatives of political organs and political workers of formations and units and at conferences and seminars, an exchange of experience of the Marxist-Leninst training of officers, of political studies with soldiers and sergeants, of the organizing of competition and of other forms of the training and education of servicemen of the socialist community countries' armies takes place. A broad exchange of experience of ideological work aimed at nurturing in servicemen a class hatred for imperialists and great revolutionary vigilance is very valuable.

There is great significance in the wide-scale propagandizing of the fraternal peoples' revolutionary traditions, of the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the revolutionary transformation of society and of proletarian solidarity with Russia's working class prior to and after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The participation of tens of thousands of Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Germans, and Romanians in the war against the foreign interventionists and against the Russian White Guards, in the Spanish Civil War within the international brigades and in the resistance movement during World War II belongs to the best revolutionary traditions of the European socialist countries' fraternal peoples. Commanders, political organs and party and youth organizations educate soldiers and officers in these patriotic and internationalist traditions of their peoples in a spirit of loyalty to revolutionary ideas and causes and develop within servicemen the features of the fighter of the new socialist army, always unhesitatingly ready to defend his motherland and all the socialist community countries against the imperialist aggressors' attacks.

Of course, the process of rapprochement of the socialist countries' armies does not erase their specific national character or their distinctive historical features. Increasingly close interaction enriches the fraternal armies with increasingly sophisticated methods of improving combat readiness and with each other's experience, makes it possible, by collective efforts, to overcome the complexities which arise and increases the international influence of the Warsaw Pact as a whole.

Under present-day conditions imperialist reaction has adopted a course toward stepping up international tension and is acting as an aggressive force. The Warsaw Pact countries' communist and workers' parties and governments proceed from the premise that so long as the NATO bloc persists and as long as militarist circles conduct an arms race, the Warsaw Pact is not only essential but must also strengthen itself in every way.

It was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress that the socialist countries' military-political defense alliance is loyally serving peace. This alliance possesses everything necessary for the reliable defense of the peoples' socialist gains.

The fraternal armies' servicemen, cohesive in a united international family, are always on the alert. Taking account of the threat of military attack from the enemies of peace and socialism, they are improving their combat skill and are ready to repulse any aggression from wheresoever it may come.

'STUDIO NINE' ON WORLD PROBLEMS, U.S. POLICIES

OW251344 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 0750 GMT 25 Apr 81

["Studio Nine" program with Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, Moscow radio and television political observer, Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, first deputy chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] Good day comrades. We are meeting with you in Studio Nine of the Ostankino Television Center for our regular program in order to discuss important problems of world politics.

Our talk is occurring at a time when the Soviet people and all progressive people of the world are marking the Leninist jubilee. Turning again and again to the priceless depository of Leninist ideas, we see in them a reliable compass giving us the opportunity to choose the correct course in the stormy seas of world politics and to find profound regularities in the development of the historic process. This process is at present unprecedentedly difficult. Many events are occurring that are different and not synonymous, and if we were not to analyze but to simply enumerate these events we could even form a somewhat chaotic picture. But a Leninist analysis of what is occurring, it seems, gives an opportunity to find a certain common denominator in this motley array of various facts.

Brezhnev Peace Proposals

[Arbatov] Yes, this of course is correct and such a denominator exists in the majority of present events. In the long run all of them in one way or another develop around the main issue of contemporary international relations--the question of war and peace. Presently this question has of course acquired a particular urgency in connection with the development of the objective situation. The decisions of the 26th party congress, the foreign policy program that was outlined in the Accountability Report, and the proposals expressed by Comrade Brezhnev, were, therefore, of absolutely exclusive significance. After all, they were proposals and a program that did not simply stem from the good wishes that have always been a peculiarity of our policy throughout the entire history of our state. This was a reply to definite, real and very concrete circumstances, to the intensified threat of war and to extremely negative tendencies in international relations that have as their main cause a change in the policy of the United States of America.

[Falin] I would like to say in connection with this, if I may, that the proposals in the program outlined by Leonid Ilich at the 26th congress are objectively opposed to another philosophy, to another approach to the international situation and to international developments. When we say that the situation has been exacerbated or that it has worsened, quite often the fact that the objective position--that the situation does not become exacerbated or worse of its own accord--slips into the background. This is the result of certain actions of certain circles or certain figures, figures who today are determining the features of the United States of America and those circles that dictate the current course of the United States. They adhere to a view that was apparently very cynically and clearly expressed by former President Nixon in his book published last year, his book was in fact titled, "The Real War."

What does he write? He writes that World War III is now in progress, that its main antagonists are the Soviet Union and the United States of America. According to Nixon there cannot be a draw in this war. There must be a winner and this winner must be the United States of America. And if the United States cannot achieve victory in a nonmilitary way without the use of arms, he says in conclusion, then they must not hesitate to use arms, including nuclear ones.

[Arbatov] An amazing evolution, wouldn't you say. This is the same President Nixon who has repeatedly spun around through 180 and 360 degrees in his political biography. And how simply he tries now to be quits with what may be the only positive side of his activities which will remain to history, because I do not think that he will be kindly remembered in history for his friendship and common activities with Senator McCarthy, for Watergate or for anything else but for the things that he did in truly turning relations with the Soviet Union about and turning the policy of the United States toward detente, and now under the new conditions he seems to be making an apology for the fact that he permitted such a thing. To a certain extent this may well be typical for American politicians.

[Zorin] The profound ideas expressed in Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's report at the congress and the decisions of our congress evoked an enormous flood of responses and commentaries. We have described them to you, comrades, as these responses came in. Now 2 months have already passed and it seems that we can somehow generalize the reaction of the West to the initiatives and the program in the sphere of international politics that were proposed by the 26th congress of our party. How would you now formulate world reaction to this program, Valentin Mikhaylovich?

[Falin] In fact there is sufficient material now to make detailed conclusions from responses to the congress. It should be said immediately that the responses are extremely varied in their caliber, in their political qualifications and in their very approach to the problems raised at the congress and in the essence of these problems that demand a clear reply from the state and a clear answer from the party and political figures. To be brief, I would like to express it as follows: That the first thing that everyone recognizes is the fact that the proposals of the Soviet Union and the congress decisions cannot be brushed off, they cannot be silenced, because these proposals and the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union reflect not only the party's policy, although naturally they do reflect the party's policy and are expressed in party language, but these proposals reflect objective reality, objective requirements with which all mankind lives and which it encounters.

The fact that it is necessary to respond and that a simple no cannot be given is connected to a great extent to the irritation of reactionaries that is evident in many responses, particularly in the United States. The United States would obviously prefer the Soviet Union to reply to the unconstructive U.S. activities toward us as the Chinese say--spearhead against spearhead. Our peaceful, nonpolemical reaction and approach was both a surprise and to a certain degree even unpleasant to them.

[Arbatov] Most distressing, I would say.

[Falin] In this sense, of course, although the United States is not homogenous and although there are extremely influential groups in the United States that support good relations with the Soviet Union--or at least equal good-neighborly cooperation with us--reactionaries in general, the state reactionaries of the United States differ considerably from the reactionaries in Europe. But before speaking about the reactionaries in Europe I would like to attempt to continue to sum up those responses and to say that the responses add that time must be won. This is primarily characteristic of the United States, which wants to postpone--as far as possible--a businesslike discussion of the Soviet proposals and to win time under the pretext of needing to thoroughly study the proposals, to prepare for talks that the Soviet Union has proposed without committing itself by a positive attitude to concrete ideas, aspects or proposals.

Further attempts have been made--and this is again primarily characteristic of Washington and to some extent Beijing--to question the correctness of the problem as we have stated it. They say that there are things more important than peace: There are events, there are interests for which it is necessary to fight. Attempts are being made to represent things in such a way that the problem of limiting the arms race and the problem of disarmament are in fact not the major problems presently confronting mankind, that the arms race in itself does not yet represent a sufficiently great threat and that the arms race that is being foisted on the entire world by the United States should not be viewed as a challenge to the interests of mankind.

Another group of responses is essentially more coordinated. Those politicians consider that straightforwardness is not always the shortest path to the achivement of their aims and so they prefer to extract from the Soviet proposals only that which suits them by more than 100 percent, and they attempt to either silence what is to some extent uncomfortable or indigestible for them or to throw that part of the proposals into the shadows to limit discussion of it.

There are also politicians who recognize, albeit with some reservations, that the Soviet proposals and the statement concerning the problems of war and peace that we made at the congress are objectively important, very serious and very profound and that it is necessary to engage in talks as soon as possible to clarify the intentions of both sides.

Many Western figures however, hurry to add numerous reservations. They list what the Soviet Union must do as a prerequisite for the talks to take place, or in order for its intentions to win more trust. Obviously the picture would be very incomplete if we failed to also mention the attempts to represent the responses, the Soviet proposals and the peace-loving proposals of the congress as an expression of some kind of internal difficulties being experienced by the Soviet Union rather than as a consistent expression of the Soviet foreign policy's peaceableness. Such voices are heard particularly in the United States. They say the Soviet Union needs detente and this is precisely why the Soviet Union should be denied detente. And they say a harsh course should be forced on the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union should be forced to arm itself until it perishes.

Recently the editor of DER SPIEGEL, Rudolf Augstein, ironically said that this idea--to force the Soviet Union to arm itself until it perishes--is all right when made over a glass of beer but not in serious relations between serious state figures or between states.

The Soviet proposals, the congress proposals have aroused enormous interest, an enormous wave of positive responses throughout the world and in the West as well. In connection with these positive responses and with this objective positive interest, serious difficulties have arisen for waging a policy that the United States is foisting on the West European countries and that certain West European political figures support. The struggle of opinions has led to the fact that the situation within the FRG has become seriously complicated. A large part of the Social Democratic Party, which as you know is the ruling party in that country, and liberals have come out against the deployment of American nuclear weapons, of new American nuclear weapons in Western Europe, and they are demanding that talks be held as soon as possible.

Essentially the question of war and peace has acquired an extremely important significance and occupies a most important place in the current election campaign in France. The presidential elections will be held next Sunday. It is a question to which, of course, various candidates in these elections give differing answers, but the question does not objectively lend itself to being silenced and is a question that demands a reply.

It can be said that in the Scandinavian countries a statement favoring peace, detente and wise businesslike talks between sides has never before acquired or had such scope as at the present time.

At the same time other events have also been taking place. Georgiy Arkadyevich was, I understand, himself a witness to them as he was in the United States and Western Europe at about this time and saw how the United States and the NATO leadership were (?pushing) their allies, particularly at the meeting of the Nuclear Planning Committee or the Nuclear Planning Group in Bonn, how the United States attempted to impose a continuation of the arms race policy regardless of what the Soviet Union proposed and despite what the Soviet Union proposed.

[Arbatov] It is interesting that both the Americans and Western Europe--and I have not run into this before--have begun expressing sincere resentment if someone speaks the truth and somehow refutes the absolutely artificial structures created to favor this concept.

[Falin] To favor what concept?

[Arbatov] That additional armaments must be sought, that new kinds of medium-range weapons are needed in Europe, and so on. I was for example not simply a witness but, you could say, a participant in this affair. I learned with surprise on leaving West Germany that because I had factually outlined the proposals made at the 26th congress in response to questions, I had caused such displeasure that I was even reproached by an official for spoiling relations between the people and Government of West Germany.

[Falin] It is true that it can be extremely awkward when it does not fit in with those concepts which for one reason or another interest the government of this country at the time.

[Arbatov] So you see, if we are to speak about America, then of course, why were the congress decisions so unpleasant and unexpected? We have already dwelt on this. Because all the political plans nurtured as far back as the end of the last presidency and during the election campaign by people who are now in power are linked--as an essential prerequisite--to tension. Without this it is impossible to make people loosen their purse strings. Without this it is impossible to again bridle the allies and to lead them on an extremely short and tight rein, military expenditures cannot be inflated and interventionist adventures abroad cannot be substantiated. The resistance therefore is natural. You know, I was surprised recently when I came across an unexpected ally in John Foster Dulles who in his 1939 book--"War, Peace and Change"--wrote that if you wish to create a large military machine then it is essential to precede this with the creation of war hysceria. But as soon as you had created it you would have gone a long way on the path that leads to war. Thus the mechanism created to substantiate the need for arms may later require the use of those arms.

I can now understand why Dulles said this--it was before World War II and he did not want the United States to take part in the war with Germany. But the fact is that it is precisely this kind of mechanism that is being launched today in America. This is why they view actions favoring peace as the most subversive action. This, more than anything, unsettles the people who have chosen this path and who want to pursue it further.

[Falin] It is even said that if you want to anger the present American leaders, all you have to do is make a constructive proposal to them in favor of peace. To a certain extent this is objectively so and reflects a real fact.

In fact, the United States has set itself the task of realizing at all costs the military programs, intended--as General Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, has frankly declared--at insuring military superiority for the United States so that the United States can dictate its will over its allies, over the countries of the so-called Third World. To achieve this, the United States is prepared to go to great lengths, and it is in fact going to great lengths. It is sufficient to cite as an example the fact that today, on the eve of the NATO Council session to be held 4-5 May in Rome, the United States is actively working on Spain, encouraging it to join this aggressive bloc. The United States is engaged in very intensive work in a number of Latin American states aimed at establishing a south Atlantic military bloc. The United States has intensified its military cooperation with Pakistan.

Militarization Viewed

[Zorin] Recently a new and, I would say, very dangerous element has appeared in Washington's policy about which I think we must talk in particular. If some time ago, and even not so long ago Washington, while at no stage stopping its military program or arms race program, nonetheless avoided acting from a position of open recognition of the permissibility of nuclear war, now the impression is created that the Washington leaders will attempt to overcome this psychological barrier. Some figures in the West are striving to inculcate the idea that the possibility of a nuclear war is something acceptable to the people and are making this possibility--the possibility of a nuclear war--an element of their practical policy. Now I would like us to address this problem, Georgiy Arkadyevich.

[Arbatov] Well, you see after all, certain circles in the United States have been preparing for a change in policy for a long time. In fact, they never laid down their arms and began acting from the very first days of detente. Besides, the very same people which have now come to the fore were then in the opposition and were fairly active.

They acted along several lines, one of which lay in attempts to create the impression that the United States was militarily weak. Quite contrary to all facts they attempted to prove that the arms race was pursued by the Soviet Union alone, by itself, while the United States did nothing but cut allocations for military needs, although the seventies, the years of detente, were at the same time also years which saw the appearance of an unprecedented number of fundamentally new weapons systems.

(?The MIRV)-II weapons system was created by the Americans and was in fact included in their arsenal. I have in mind separating warheads for example, which represented a qualitative leap in the development of nuclear arms, I have in mind the cruise missiles, Trident I and Trident II, work on a new bomber, and more accurate separating warheads such as the Mark 12-A, which already have an obviously different meaning. On the other hand, they are attempting to create the impression of a loss of political will, as if America were some kind of paralyzed giant. Of course quite active use was made of these moods, of the Americans' wounded self-esteem caused by U.S. defeats in the world arena. But these defeats were not due to somebody's malicious will, but to the mistakes of American foreign policy itself. I have in view the defeat in Vietnam--where the Americans should have stayed out from the very beginning--the defeat in Iran and a whole series of other, similar situations.

As a matter of fact political will means only one thing--the will for military adventures abroad. And these attempts at erosion [pazmyt] are called the post-Vietnam syndrome--a lack of desire to participate in such adventures abroad--and have become one of the very important trends of American propaganda. Of course it turned out that these attempts were not that effective. For instance, even loud talk about sending troops to El Salvador immediately caused a reaction in the United States, so that administration had to beat a retreat to some extent. Nonetheless, it is acting on this. And finally the concluding and possibly most dangerous of these trends in the cultivation of people are the attempts to dispel fear of nuclear war, to show that it is possible. Contrast this to the seventies. In the seventies the beginnings of detente were laid. In the document on the basic principles of relations between the Soviet Union and United States, it says that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, that war is impossible. This was something that was talked about and used as the basis for detente. It was the basis for agreements.

[Falin] It was the basis for the agreement on averting nuclear war.

[Arbatov] On averting nuclear war, yes. Now this situation has changed. By removing this fear they want to get hold of the implements for exerting political pressure, for blackmail, as well as to substantiate a new round in the arms race insofar as it makes sense then if nuclear war is possible.

First '100 Days' Viewed'

[Zorin] I think the problem of the professional qualifications of the political figures is related to the question that we are discussing. Objective factors are of significance in history and we have discussed them today, and I would like to dwell a bit on the subjective factor relating to the professional level of some of the political leaders in Washington. For instance, it is hard to imagine a normal person who would agree to lie down on an operating table, even in the case of an operation such as appendectomy, if he was told that the person performing the operation had never held a scapel. I cannot imagine a person who would take a seat in a passenger airliner if he knew that the person at the controls had never flown an aircraft before.

Now, apparently, things that are unacceptable in such simple cases do not seem to carry over into more serious problems in the United States. Now it is a fact that the last two presidents of the United States had insufficient experience in international politics before they came to the White House.

Carter came to the presidency from the post of governor of the small state of Georgia. Previously he had nothing to do with international affairs. The current President of the United States was the governor of a large state--one of the largest in the United States--California. He also had little direct contact with international affairs during his previous career, and this probably affects the course of events.

Now, Georgiy Arkadyevich, what is your opinion? How could it have occurred that two times in a row people not possessing sufficient professional experience, particularly in the sphere of international affairs, find themselves at the helm of the American state?

[Arbatov] Well, if we rummage around in history, we find that this is not the first example of this in America. In the present case, however, I think the matter lies in the Americans' being extremely disappointed with professional politicians. You may recall the preceding period. There was Vietnam. Very able politicians dragged America into that affair. By their experience, those around at the time, who came with Kennedy, were known as the best and most brilliant. People around Johnson were also sufficiently qualified. Later came people linked to Nixon, a man who also had outstanding experience and who was surrounded by experienced people. And there was the Watergate scandal. They evoked great disappointment and people simply wanted honesty, but they did not want to look for honesty among professional politicians.

Now things were not as simple as they seemed. Carter's entourage included Lance, and Carter had problems with his brother. And I am fully prepared to allow that the new administration may have a few skeletons hidden in the closet. Some signals to this effect were already evident during the pre-election campaign. But I think this is the main reason. Besides, I would like to add that this is occurring, Valentin Sergeyevich, at a time when the internatioal situation is very complicated. The matter may not simply lie in a lack of professionalism. You know that the level of those who, to some extent, seem to have professional knowledge does not evoke any great respect. Even the level of knowledge and the level of understanding are problems.

Besides, a very homogenous group has come [to Washington]. After all, it ranges from the conservative to the extreme right. It would seem that these people would all be of the same mind; however, some rather sharp squabbles broke out among them from the very beginning. A not so funny joke by the President, that in the United States Government today the right hand often does not know what that same right hand is doing, has flown around the United States.

This is what the picture is like, and, you know, generally the government leaves a strange impression. Americans often console us representatives and guests from the Soviet Union by saying that although this administration might have many failures, it will be better in at least one area--it will be predictable. Now this is not really justified and, after all, predictability (?is the prediction of differences).

This was discussed at the Conference of Physicians Against Nuclear War and I told them--I made a medical comparison--that you know you can have a most unpredictable flu that may be cured or will go away of its own accord in 5 days or turn into a dangerous pneumonia in 6 days. Yet this is preferable to having a completely predictable cancer.

In a word, the picture is complicated, and this has made its imprint on the first 100 days of the administration--days that have passed in a way that is strange even to Americans.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, please comment on those first 100 days. There is a tradition in the United States to assess this initial period, the first 100 days, and it so happens you were in the United States during this very period of the formation of the new administration and during the formulation of its policy. What are your impressions?

[Arbatov] Well, my impression is, as a matter of fact, that there is still no cohesive polic , foreign policy, at the end of this period, the first 100 days.

There is a lot of rhetoric. Maybe some people consider this rhetoric to be a policy. The impression is that people are still working in the election campaign and that they are continuing--and, of course, they are almost professional members of the opposition insofar as they have spent their lives in the opposition--to struggle against someone.

[Falin] Against themselves at present.

[Arbatov] Against themselves at present and against some kind of apparitions. Well, they simply cannot proceed with any of the practical business that every government should engage in.

At the same time, their words cannot simply be rejected because these words indicate their intentions, and the intentions appear to be very bad.

We spoke about many policies--about the arms race and about attempts to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. However, this is not only true in relation to the Soviet Union. This occurs in relation to the allies--to suppress the allies--and it is the new policy in relation to the Third World.

Another question here, of course, is that wishes are wishes, but politics remains the art of the possible and these wishes in no ay fit in with reality. Americans are already beginning to encounter this. Nothing much, after all, has come from these flutterings. Budget difficulties exist; there are difficulties with the allies; and the first steps in Africa, the flirting with South Africa, have resulted in great indignation.

As far as winning military superiory over the Soviet Union is concerned, well, another two or three large navy ships can be taken out of mothballs and some other kind of military system can be built. However, the balance is extremely stable, and the parity we have achieved--and we did not work many years for it in vain--cannot be destroyed just like that.

And then the Americans do not have unlimited means either; yet, this demands such great transformations. You know, I can recall my conversation with a certain American recently and he told me that he does not really believe this will all take place because Americans might have become a bit more conservative but they have not all become idiots. They understand, after all, where the country's possibilities lie, and, as a matter of fact, all this has occurred before. Also, people remember that this has all happened before and everything the Americans are being told now is like a breakfast that has already been eaten. Now efforts are being made to shove it down people's throats again, and, you understand, they really do have many serious problems--serious economic problems and other problems.

I just happened to be by a television during the first minutes of the transmission at the time of the assassination attempt on the President. It stirred up all those thoughts Americans have about one of the most unhealthy aspects of American life--the violence, the frightening violence that has completely distorted the entire way of life of Americans.

Of course, it was quite curious how it was all presented. First, at the beginning, it was a shock. This is understandable. The shock was evident in the announcer and in everybody. But then it turned into some kind of professional savoring of details--physiological and medical details--which were recounted hour after hour. Then it simply became unseemly as ballistics specialists went on about how a shot fired a little differently with a different caliber would have killed the President--almost instructions for future criminals.

It all came as a big shock for Americans--not just the assassination attempt, but the events that surrounded it as well.

I remember the reaction evoked when one of the responsible figures in the White House--the secretary of state in fact, why conceal his name--spoke over television and, with an emotion-filled voice, said that he had taken control into his own hands. This control, however, was not his prerogative and should have gone to the vice president, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and so on before him, and this immediately resulted in a wave of indignation.

Generally this really tragic event was surrounded by many tragicomic events. On the whole, America leaves the impression of a country which is far from being in good shape.

[Falin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, do you not think that the inconsistency of American policies both domestic and even more in foreign policy activities, the inconsistencies in the changeover from one administration to another and in the framework of one administration and such occurrences as the ones you spoke of--like assassinations, like increasing and more desperate violence, and so--that this reflects a much deeper process?

[Arbatov] And corruption.

[Falin] A crisis in society. Can one imagine a healthy society which denies the advantages of detente and declares it to be an almost seditious idea or, as it is fashionable to say today, a one-way street; which starts to deny the value of peaceful coexistence and which in fact even denies the value of peace as such; which places the principle of force and violence as the basis? Can such a society be healthy?

[Arbatov] At the same time we should recognize, I suppose, that for the majority of Americans, peace, peaceful coexistence and good relations with the Soviet Union, despite all the propaganda waged against all these things, remain as an ideal, an ideal for many, many Americans. This has, in fact, been shown by public opinion polls to be so for the majority.

[Falin] Obviously, of course, this cannot be denied, but on the other hand we are witnesses to the fact that extreme anxiety over what is occurring in the United States is being expressed not only in the socialist countries. Anxiety over how America lives, how it behaves and how it manifests its strengths and opportunities abroad is shown by even the closest allies of the United States. The United States is experiencing a hard time, not only in its relation with the Soviet Union. The United States is experiencing an extremely difficult time in its relations with its allies as well and with practically all the countries of the world.

[Arbatov] You see, I would even go so far as to say that at the present time against the backdrop of this disillusionment, in the defeats which the United States has suffered, some kind of emotions have appeared; a desire to punish the world, to punish the world for somehow becoming inhospitable to America, for becoming uncomfortable in some way, and in some places even hostile.

Now this dissatisfaction with the world has spread quite far, insofar as here we are not simply talking about the government but about fairly broad circles. After all, the memory of those golden days when America--let us say immediately after the war--occupied an absolutely exclusive position in the world which was weakened by war, remained as a memory of the best of times, a memory of something which belonged rightfully to America in the minds of very many people. This feeling was supported and reared and I think that this was the emotional lining over which it has become possible today to lay certain political slogans. And this has made it possible to accomplish this turnabout, although I do not believe that it is fatally inevitable or unavoidable, or that it will not give rise to protests within America itself, not to mention the countries which are America's allies.

[Zorin] One of the distinguishing features of the direction of United States' foreign policy, unfortunately, is its consistent inconsistency, I would say, its constant zigzags, a situation when, say, one administration does not consider itself bound by what the previous administration did; moreover, when one member of an administration does not consider himself bound by the position of another member of the administration. Today you have spoken of various regularities and their influence on the development of events in the international arena.

Now what would you say, Valentin Mikhaylovich, is there a regularity in this kind of inconsistency and accentuated zigzag nature of Washington's policy in recent years?

[Falin] Yes, there is, I think there is. This regularity can be expressed by the same concept as a deep crisis of American policy, of the American system and of the way of life in the United States.

[Arbatov] The old way is no longer possible, but not everybody is familiar with or likes the new way.

[Falin] They cannot find the answer to real problems in which the United States is forced to live. They cannot adapt themselves to the real world which surrounds the United States and they want to adjust this world at any price to the needs of the United States. This essentially is the problem and the essence of the phenomenon and herein at the same time lies the danger of what is happening.

Of course, if the administration acts as if what comes after it is of no consequence, even if it is a great flood, or even acts according to the principle that the flood occurred prior to this administration, then it is extremely difficult to somehow predict the policy of the state and to somehow carry on a real partnership with that state, even for the closest allies of the United States, not to mention such large states as the Soviet Union.

[Arbatov] And in some ways it can be even more difficult for the allies than for the opponents of the United States.

[Falin] Well, you need to consider that their ties are more diverse and any zigzags and turns reflect more painfully on their interests. This is beyond doubt.

[Zorin] An alarming fact causing anxiety throughout the world is the fact that the policy of relaxation of international tensions, with which the people had most serious hopes, has now run into serious difficulties. Now, in concluding our talk I would like to have you answer the question: What are the reasons for this phenomenon, what is behind it?

[Arbatov] I think, personally, that when the first steps were taken on the road to detente nobody here thought that this would be a very easy process--that it would be like stroll on Neva Boulevard, along a smooth road--because we understood matters perfectly well.

And I can remember quite well that at the time the question was discussed in this way in our party documents. Now as a matter of fact, very serious interests in the West are linked with the cold war, with the arms race and with the policy of expansionism. Of course, you see that the military-industrial complex in general has almost become such an everyday thing that it is almost awkward to talk about it. However, it exists and it is robbing the country quite incredibly.

Now, I happened to learn the prices at which they sell weapons to the Pentagon. For example, a submachinegun, an ordinary standard submachinegun goes for $7,000.

[Zorin] That is more than an automobile.

[Arbatov] Yes, it costs more than an automobile. A rifle--the most standard rifle, which is produced by the millions--goes for $400. They say that every nut, every bolt, when sold to the Pentagon, costs five to six times more than the very same one when sold to private industry. So you see, generally these are interests over which they are prepared to bite each other's heads off and for which they are prepared to fight to the end.

Besides, there is and there was a great inertia, and this has been discussed repeatedly, an inertia in old policy and old notions. All the mechanisms were after all started up and created for a cold war policy. And here it was sufficient for things simply not to work for them to be once again pulled out into the same lines. Constant efforts were needed here to alter the situation, and they were undertaken.

[Falin] To some extent it is easier to carry out a scientific-technical revolution than to carry out a resolution of the political consciousness of professional politicians.

[Arbatov] Yes. And many politicians had to be replaced and the views of other politicians and of the entire infrastructure had to be changed. After all policies are not made by the government alone--the press, the entire infrastructure works and exerts ideological influences on the masses. Economic interests are also involved. It is a very difficult job to overcome all this.

Views on Detente

Besides, when we entered into the period of detente it did not mean that ideal conditions were established automatically or that all difficult problems were removed from the earth.

After all, problems existed. When detente began war was still raging in Indochina and several years passed before it ended. The conflict in the Middle East was very critical and remains very critical to this day. Other conflicts were smouldering in Africa. As a matter of fact there was quite a lot of this sort of thing.

Even bigger may have been the burden of mistrust which Leonid Ilich has addressed at times. It is a burden that must be gotten rid of, although to be rid of it can be quite difficult because here we get into a sort of closed circuit.

Now to dispel mistrust some real shifts in policy are needed, but at the same time there is a fear of policy shifts if there is no increase in trust. Taken together this created great difficulties, which under certain conditions--and things could have been simply unlucky under conditions of detente, and I have in view primarily the development of the domestic policies and internal affairs of the United States where the most decisive moments had absolutely nothing in common with the foreign policy, even circumstantially--created big new problems and difficulties, and these kinds of things appeared.

However, I would say that we nonetheless have no right or basis to speak about detente in the past tense. It has demonstrated its vitality and we see a lot of evidence of this today. The proposals and the program of the congress are in this regard falling on ground that had in a way been prepared. This makes them stronger.

[Falin] From the point of view of its prospects, detente is, of course, a very important answer to the question: How do states view each other? Do they see each other as partners at the present time or in the future? Or do they view one another as opponents--again at the present time or in the future--or even worse, as potential or even open enemies?

Now, this is probably where we have a watershed in this issue. If during the period of detente the United States recognized the Soviet Union as a partner with whom business must be conducted and with whom solid relations must be built on a serious and long term basis, then presently it is taking the opposite position.

If previously it was thought that efforts to widen the sphere of cooperation between states were needed and that the problems appearing for the first time should be solved through joint efforts and not approached from opposite positions, then today this approach is changing, at least among some of the American leadership.

However, this does not remove a single objective truth nor does it change one real fact. In the seventies detente began not because somebody wanted this or simply because an idea came to De Gaulle, to Brandt or Scheel in the Federal Republic of Germany, or to Nixon or Kissinger in the United States. What occurred at the time and what was expressed in the very fruitful process of relaxation of tensions reflected a certain stage in the development of human society--this development was necessary. And nobody has revoked, naturally cannot revoke, these needs.

At present attempts are simply being made to strike out accumulated positive experiences and, also, the negative experiences that preceded detente and to begin anew as if nothing had ever happened, just like people who have discovered the world for themselves and others for the first time, and who then wish to dictate their laws to them.

This is beyond the scope of even such large states as the United States and is esentially outside anybody's scope.

When Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, addressing the signing ceremony of the Final Act at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said that the merit of this document, the merit of this meeting, lay in the fact that there were no victors and no losers, and that everybody was a winner and when at the 26th congress, he stressed the need for peace, the value of peace, and viewed it as a requirement for all mankind and not simply as a requirement for only one system; this reflected positively on our society and the policy which was affirmed at the 26th congress.

And, I think, speaking once again about responses to the congress' decisions, first of all of the foreign policy program, we can state with satisfaction that the majority of responses, that the majority of politicians who viewed what was said and what was proposed, seriously understand that peace today is more indivisible than ever before, that it is impossible to deny peace to someone without denying peace to oneself, that one's own security cannot be built by violating the security of another, that there is no real alternative to cooperation, peaceful cooperation, keeping in mind the fact that this would be a real alternative insuring the interests equally of both sides and which will bring equal advantages to both sides.

[Zorin] Well, I think we can now end our discussion. It remains for me to thank the participants, to thank you, comrade television viewers, and so until further meetings here in our Studio Nine, thank you.

ZORIN: TRUST IN U.S. ERODED BY EMBARGO ACTION

LD291220 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 28 Apr 81

[Valentin Zorin commentary from the "Moscow Viewpoint" program--read by announcer]

[Text] It has already been reported that the U.S. administration has lifted the embargo on the sale of agricultural products to the Soviet Union. This move was preceded by heated debates involving senators, political observers, representatives of the administration and all sorts of experts. The fact that Washington deemed it necessary to lift the ban on grain sales to the Soviet Union is in fact an admission that the widely advertized embargo was a fiasco. The idea to lift the embargo arose because it did not achieve Washington's announced aims. In fact, it boomeranged, severely affecting the interests of millions of U.S. farmers.

During the campaign for the presidency, the Republicans promised to lift the embargo in order to win the farmers' votes. The desire not to further harm the U.S. farmers, who are living through hard times, was one of the reasons that compelled the White House to abandon the embargo as a bad idea. It is hard to tell what objectives Washington is pursuing. Washington probably just wants to score more political points. However, I think that the problem goes beyond this. The point is that unilateral U.S. attempts to exert pressure by means of grain sales or in some other way are bound to fail from the very start when they are made against such a powerful nation as the Soviet Union.

I would like to note one other thing in this regard, and I stress that I am voicing my personal opinion in discussing the problem of grain sales to the Soviet Union after the lifting of the embargo. Washington makes it appear as if the matter depends solely on the United States. But even school children know that any commercial transaction involves two sides. It would not be bad if Washington considered Moscow's position. In its striving to improve inter-state relations and to decrease international tension, the Soviet Union takes a positive view of broader Soviet-U.S. relations, including trade relations.

However, there are problems to be considered from a purely commercial aspect. Naturally, the question arises as to what extent the United States would abide by new trade agreements if it does not give up its attempts to use trade as a means of political pressure.

Frankly, the Soviet Union had no difficulty finding trade partners while the embargo was in effect. A number of agreements were concluded; some are long-term agreements. By taking the path of unilateral action the United States not only suffered concrete material losses but--and this is important--it also undermined its own reputation as a reliable partner. It appears that this damage is even more significant than the concrete losses resulting from yet to be concluded deals. Trust is a priceless asset in international trade, and losing it means losing not only immediate advantages but also long-term advantages.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the unreasonable decision to impose the embargo has eroded trust in the United States as a reliable trading partner, and this has eroded not only the Soviet Union's trust. Many countries are asking how far they can trust Washington when it so easily sacrifices long-term interests for transient political benefit or at the whim of some high-ranking politician.

The embargo has been lifted, but it seems the administration does not intend to abandon its attempts to use trade as a weapon for achieving its foreign policy objectives.

STATEMENT ON ASIAN POLICY ISSUED IN MANILA

LD292038 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Manila, 29 Apr, TASS--TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrov reports: The present U.S. administration intends to continue the adventuristic course aimed at achieving the global military-political supremacy and ensuring that Wahington continues to play the role of an international gendarme.

While conducting this course the Washington strategists regard Beijing, alongside with Tokyo and Seoul, as the main partner in the implementation of its imperialist policy.

This course of the Reagan administration was reflected in a statement of the United States International Communication Agency (USICA) whose regional headquarters are situated in Manila. This statement was published here today.

The statement devoted to the United States' Asian policy emphasises, particularly, the unity of the economic, political and strategic interests of Washington, Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul. It is stressed that the essense of this policy is the military-strategic "partnership" with Japan, which includes a considerable U.S. military presence in the Japanese territory. The statement shows that the United States intends to continue insisting on the increase of the military budget of Japan and to encourage Tokyo to play a more active "political" role in Asia.

It is emphasised in the statement that Washington and Beijing have parallel interests in their global anti-Soviet strategy. It is also stressed that the Reagan administration seeks to continue the course at the widening of the ties with China, including the economic, scientific, technological and cultural ties.

The statement stresses that Washington does not intend to withdraw U.S. forces from South Korea. The course of the United States aimed at further strengthening of the "pact on defence" with Seoul is also confirmed.

The statement issued by the Manila headquarters of the United States International Communication Agency confirms again that the Washington administration took the road of knocking together in the Far East an aggressive military-political alliance with an obvious anti-Soviet trend, the alliance in which a considerable role is assigned to Beijing.

WEINBERGER CITED ON U.S. POLICY IN PACIFIC

LD300152 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] San Francisco, 29 Apr, TASS--Speaking in the World Affairs Council here, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger stressed again that peace alone is not enough for the Reagan administration. In order to ensure the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism, which, as Weinberger's speech shows, comprise the whole world, Washington has started a prolonged and costly process of rearming the United States. This will cost the tax-payers in the 1982 financial year at least 50 billion more than in the 1981 financial year.

Caspar Weinberger was outspoken about the United States' claims to raw material wealth of other countries. He said many resources that the United States needs for energy purposes and many important strategic materials are situated thousands of miles away from the U.S. coasts. He said that in order to get access to these resources the United States should increase its military and naval might.

A considerable part of Weinberger's speech was devoted to the United States' policy in the Pacific area. He declared in favour of attaining the U.S. military supremacy on sea, for a further buildup of the U.S. Armed Forces there, and for the strengthening of the military alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand.

The Pentagon's head boasted that about 45 thousand U.S. troops are stationed in Japan and demanded that Japan should increase its contribution to the joint military programmes.

He said that the Pentagon intends to increase still more the potential of the U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea. It is intended to increase artillery and helicopter support for the land forces, to replace planes based there with the latest F-16 fighter planes and to supply other military equipment. At the same time, it is planned to buildup the military potential of the South Korean puppet forces with the aim of reinforcing the joint potential. Washington, specifically, intends to supply to Seoul with 36 F-16 fighter planes to a total sum of 900 million dollars.

PRAVDA COMMENTS ON WEINBERGER TRIP TO CANADA

LD281255 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 81 p 5

[Nikolay Bragin "Commentator's Column": "Wrong Direction"]

[Text] Ottawa--U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger has paid a short visit to Ottawa. He met with representatives of the Canadian Armed Forces General Staff and had talks with Canada's Minister of National Defense Lamontagne.

Although the details of the talks between the leaders of the two countries' military departments are being kept secret, local observers attest that Weinberger's unexpected appearance in the Canadian capital is connected with Washington's attempts to force its northern neighbor into even closer cooperation with the United States within the NATO and NORAD framework and into another increase in military spending, which cannot fail to have an adverse effect on the economic position of a country which is suffering severly from the recession, inflation and unemployment.

Canada's state budget for the present fiscal year is already burdened with tremendous unproductive expenditure on over $5 billion on military aims. Ottawa took this step under the pressure of "the alliance commitments under NATO and NORAD"--the agreement on joint U.S.-Canadian command of North America's Air Defense. On the Pentagon's demand, the validity of the latter was extended by 5 years in March, during U.S. President R. Reagan's visit to Canada. The new U.S. administration certainly has no intention of resting content with the signing of the formal act extending the NORAD agreement. The U.S. military-industrial complex is seeking to ensure that Canada complete the purchase of 138 expensive U.S. long-range aircraft to the value of $3.5-4 billion in accordance with an earlier agreement.

The Ottawa government, having agreed to purchase a large batch of U.S. F-18 aircraft, had demanded that some Canadian enterprises also be involved in producing these aircraft, but the United States by no means immediately agreed to this. Addressing a press conference in the Canadian capital, Weinberger stated that this issue has now been settled and Washington, despite all the "difficulties," has nevertheless decided to place part of the orders for the production of these aircraft in Canada. The White House's envoy needed this "concession," as the press notes, to compel the Canadian authorities to show "solidarity" with the present U.S. foreign policy course.

The essence of this course is well known. It is aimed at undermining detente and whipping up international tension. This was reaffirmed for all to see by Weinberger's appearance on Canadian television. In an effort to fuel war hysteria and intimidate the Canadians with the "Soviet military threat," he resorted to the present U.S. administration's customary collection of slanderous cliches with regard to the Soviet Union. The Pentagon chief's bellicose appeals aroused no enthusiasm in Canada, however. The course being imposed by him is not the direction which would be chosen by the absolute majority of Canada's population, who sincerely consider detente to be one of the most important conditions for preserving peace throughout the world.

GROMYKO HOLDS TALKS WITH JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

LD291516 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, TASS--The member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Andrey Gromyko, today received the ambassador of Japan to the Soviet Union, Tokichiro Uomoto, at the latter's request.

The ambassador handed over to the minister the reply to the recent address of the Soviet side to the Government of Japan concerning certain measures to improve the situation in the Far East.

During the meeting Andrey Gromyko drew attention to the new major initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU and aimed at consolidating peace, deepening detente and curbing the arms race. It was stressed that the elaboration and implementation of confidence-building measures in the Far East could both ease off the situation in the region and promote stronger universal peace.

During the discussion of bilateral Soviet-Japanese relations it was stressed that the Soviet Union favoured, as before, strong, goodneighbourly relations with Japan and was prepared to do everything to promote them, in case the Japanese side showed such readiness, too.

U.S.-KOREAN MILITARY TALKS, ALLIANCE RAPPED

SK300339 Moscow in Korean to 1330 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Station commentator Vinogradov commentary]

[Text] South Korean Defense Minister Chu Yong-pok is currently visiting the United States as head of a South Korean military delegation touring various military bases and munitions plants. An annual U.S.-South Korea military consultative conference is scheduled for 29 and 30 April in San Francisco. The U.S. delegation is led by U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger. The agenda of this meeting will include matters concerning an increase in the military capability of the U.S. forces in South Korea and the supply of more weapons to the Seoul regime from the United States. Chu Yong-pok's tour of munitions plants is directly related to these agenda topics.

Two days prior to the opening of the San Francisco meeting, the U.S. Defense Department announced the $900-million sale of 36 F-16 fighter-bombers to South Korea. What has become obvious in relations between the present U.S. administration and the South Korean military is that Washington is supporting the most reactionary regime in the world. As is known, South Korean dictator Chon Tu-hwan was the first person to visit Washington after Reagan took office. Persistently denying that the Seoul regime has maintained its lifeline by using terrorism, the United States has developed many-sided relations with this regime. High-ranking U.S. officials have unsparingly praised this regime. The United States has invariably attached special significance to its military ties with Seoul.

Regarding the Korean Peninsula as an important military stronghold, U.S. military circles have maintained 40,000 U.S. forces in South Korea, along with large quantities of military equipment. The United States does not respect the election pledge made by former U.S. President Carter to reduce U.S. forces in South Korea. The situation has been reversed today. The United States has remarkably increased the military capability of U.S. forces in South Korea and deployed modern military equipment there. As is shown by the agenda of the San Francisco meeting, the United States plans to move in this direction in the future on a larger scale.

What we cannot overlook in this connection is that the United States attempts to force Japan to take part in the dangerous plan for increasing tension on the Korean Peninsula. According to U.S. observers, the plan to attract Japan to the Washington-Seoul alliance will be discussed at the Japan-U.S. summit talks scheduled for May this year and at the Japan-U.S. military conference scheduled for June in Hawaii. To acclerate implementation of this plan, Washington has frequently babbled about the common aim of the United States and Japan with regard to the Korean Peninsula. The U.S. administration needs this babbling to force Japan to share the supply of weapons to the South Korean Army. In other words, the United States wants Japan to share the financial burden in arming the Seoul regime. Japan has begun to accelerate its move in this direction. While visiting Seoul in (?February) this year, Minayama, president of [words indistinct], consented to increase economic aid to South Korea. It has long been known that the Seoul regime took advantage of Japan's economic aid to increase South Korea's military capability. We clearly see the military ties between Japan and South Korea. The United States has persuaded the Japanese Self-Defense Forces to participate in a large-scale mid-Pacific military exercise called "Rimpac." Now it is trying to force the South Korean Armed Forces to participate in this military exercise. Moreover, the United States is continuously applying pressure on Japan to participate in the large-scale joint U.S.-South Korea military exercises in South Korea called "Team Spirit."

The U.S. attempt to form a tripartite military alliance in the Far East is aimed at further increasing tension in this region. Such an act by the U.S. administration violates the interests of the peoples of all Asian countries.

KARMAL REMARKS AT ANNIVERSARY MEETING REPORTED

LD291051 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 81 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Consistent Stand"]

[Text] Kabul, 27 Apr--On the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the April revolution a special session of the DRA Revolutionary Council was held in the Afghan capital. There Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the DRA, delivered a report on the significance of the April revolution, on the main directions of domestic and foreign policy and the tasks facing the young republic.

In the 3 years since the victory of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan, he said, the country's working people have done tremendous work in building a new society. Despite the present difficulties and the undeclared war unleashed against revolutionary Afghanistan by imperialism and reaction, we have scored palpable successes. The national democratic revolution and the new stage of its development have had a profound effect on all aspects of the life of the Afghan people. The confidence of the working masses in the party and the government has grown, the social base of the party has strengthened and broadened, its leading role has been reinforced and the DRA's international prestige has increased considerably.

The further development of the April revolution, the Afghan leader continued, largely depends on a favorable international situation, on the situation in southwest Asia and throughout the world. This is why we devote very close attention to foreign policy, which is founded on the principles of peace and friendship, peaceful coexistence, cooperation and mutual understanding among the countries of the region and of the whole world on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect for sovereignty and national independence, noninterference in each other's internal affairs and respect for the peoples' right to determine their fate themselves. We regard the struggle for peace, the deepening of detente, disarmament and the limitation of the arms race as our primary task, B. Karmal emphasized. We are confident that in the present complex situation the struggle for the victorious implementation of the peace program, of which Leonid Ilich Brezhnev spoke, is the way to ensure world peace in the eighties. We come out in support of these peace proposals and will wage the struggle to implement them together with all peace-loving forces.

The general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee recalled once again the proposals advanced by the DRA Government 14 May last year for the settlement of relations with neighboring countries. We express readiness to resolve existing differences through negotiation and to begin a two-way dialogue with neighboring countries. The efforts being made by the DRA Government in this direction are graphic evidence of our peace-loving foreign policy.

The leader of Afghanistan evaluated highly the DRA's relations with countries which support the Afghan revolution, particularly with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union above all. These relations, he declared, are an important factor in repelling external aggression and defending our country's freedom, independence and social progress. Touching on the internal tasks facing the country, he pointed to the need for the speediest liquidation of the grim legacy of the past, the implementation of socioeconomic transformations and the ensuring of democracy with regard to the national customs and traditions, culture and religion of all nationalities and tribes.

B. Karmal resolutely condemned the intrigues of imperialism, the Beijing hegemonists and external and internal reaction, which are trying to reverse the wheel of history in Afghanistan. The plans of counterrevolution have failed, he said, but the struggle against the remnants of counterrevolutionary gangs is still continuing. All the best progressive and national forces and members of the PDPA have been mobilized for this struggle. The leader of Afghanistan evaluated highly the activities of the people's armed forces, the security organs, the people's militia and the revolution defense groups, which are waging a successful struggle against the counterrevolutionary rabble, for their motherland's freedom and independence.

Dwelling on questions of economic development, Babrak Karmal noted the successes achieved in this sphere over the past year. These successes, he said, have enabled us to draw up a real plan of the country's socioeconomic development for the current year, whose fulfillment will be an important step toward enhancing the Afghan people's well-being. A friendly country--the great Soviet Union--is giving us great assistance in fulfilling this plan. The forces of counterrevolution ought to know that there has now been a cardinal change in the conditions in Afghanistan, he said. Today the Afghan labor society has a revolutionary party and people's armed forces. We are supported by the socialist community countries and the Soviet Union above all.

After the ceremonial session the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee presented Afghan Army officers with orders for courage and heroism displayed by them in defense of the gains of the April revolution and their motherland's independence and freedom.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN MARKS DRA REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

LD291123 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by S. Pomerantsev: "Profound Transformations; Tomorrow is the Third Anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Afghanistan is celebrating the third anniversary of the victory of the April revolution. These 3 years have been hard ones for the republic. The imperialist plot, the attempts to reverse Afghanistan's new history--all these obstacles have to be overcome by its people who are heroically defending the ideals of the April revolution.

But these years have also been a time of the most profound socioeconomic changes in the country's entire history. They have affected all strata of Afghan society, primarily the peasants, who compromise 80 percent of the country's population. The implementation of the April revolution's program has brought light to the Afghan countryside and opened the way to the realization of the dearest aspirations of the enormous mass of poor rural inhabitants.

Before April 1978 over one-third of peasant families could only dream of their own plot of land--today their dream is being successfully fulfilled by the revolutionary authorities. About 100,000 families have already received free over 1 million jeribs (1 jerib corresponds to 0.2 hectares) of land. Under the former regime the poor rural inhabitants could not even count on the usurers and landowners "sparing" them from their snowballing debts. The revolution wrested 11 million peasants from the servitude of their debts, liberated them from metayage, semifeudal dependence, and merciless exploitation and made them the masters of their own destiny.

It is not easy to begin a new life: Equipment, implements, seeds and mineral fertilizers were needed to cultivate the land. For the joint solution of these problems the peasants are uniting into cooperatives. Afghanistan's revolutionary leadership is giving every support to the cooperative movement. This was particularly emphasized at the recent congress of rural cooperative workers--the first in the country's history. The reduction of prices for chemical fertilizers and agricultural implements was a substantial help to the peasants. At the same time the state raised purchase prices for a number of agricultural products. The DRA Government is also paying close attention to the development of state farms, which have become the pride of the Afghan people. Soviet specialists are also helping the Afghans to get agricultural production going.

The beneficial changes that have been taking place in the republic since the April revolution entered a new stage of development and enjoy the support of the broad people's masses. They are also opening the eyes of many people who once fell for imperialist propaganda and were in the camp of the revolution's enemies. These misguided people are returning in whole groups to their native land. The hired gangs of counterrevolutionaries are being depleted.

The hatred of those who are carrying out imperialist interference in the DRA's affairs and who would like to see Afghanistan a backward, dependent country is being dashed against the revolutionary spirit of the Afghan people, who, relying on the aid of their friends, are resolutely defending the gains of the April revolution, which opened the way to a new life for them.

KARMAL THANKS SOVIET LEADERS FOR ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

LD291119 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 81 p 1

[Babrak Karmal message to Brezhnev, Tikhonov]

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

To Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

On behalf of the PDPA Central Committee, the Revolutionary Council and government of the DRA and all the Afghan people and on my own account I express the sincerest, deepest gratitude for the congratulations and warm wishes which you sent on the third anniversary of the April revolution.

The victorious national democratic revolution, carried out by our country's working people under the leadership of their vanguard--the PDPA--opened a new chapter in the Afghan people's sociopolitical history. Our revolution, aimed at building a new society in our country, eliminating all vestiges of feudalism, implementing radical transformations in the interests of Afghanistan's working people, developing the national economy and culture and increasing the people's prosperity, is advancing successfully despite the continuing intrigues of its enemies in the form of imperialism, hegemonism and international reaction.

The PDPA, the Revolutionary Council and the DRA Government are implementing and are fully determined to continue to firmly implement a positive course as a peace-loving nonaligned state in the international arena and are resolutely in favor of a political settlement of the situation which has arisen over Afghanistan as a result of plots by the enemies of the April revolution and acts of aggression and open interference on the part of imperialism, hegemonism, reaction and their hirelings, and are in favor of lasting peace and security in our region, in Asia and throughout the world.

In our just and sacred struggle we invariably sense the mighty revolutionary solidarity and all-round fraternal, international assistance accorded to our party, our working people and all Afghanistan's patriots by Lenin's great party and the land of the soviets. This again provides the most convincing evidence of the qualitatively new relations which have become established between our countries since the April revolution in Afghanistan. We again express our profound gratitude to the fraternal Soviet people for their all-round help and firm support for the cause of the April revolution, in rebuffing the aggressive plots and interference of imperialism and international reaction and in our struggle along the path of implementing, further consolidating and deepening the lofty ideals and goals of the April national democratic revolution and the Afghan people's revolutionary gains.

On behalf of the People's Democratic Party, the Revolutionary Council and the DRA Government and all our country's working people and on my own account I wish the great fraternal Soviet people and their glorious vanguard--the CPSU--the Soviet Government and you personally, dear comrades, further impressive achievements in the cause of the implementation of the broad, creative program outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress in the sphere of the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policy and in the struggle for universal peace, detente and disarmament and for the security, happiness and prosperity of all the world's peoples.

PRAVDA: ASEAN-EEC TALKS DISAPPOINT ASIAN STATES

LD290931 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 81 p 5

[Dmitriy Kosyrev "Commentator's Column": "Inauspicious Results"]

[Text] A meeting between delegations of the European Parliament and the ASEAN interparliamentary organization has ended in Jakarta. The EEC countries are trying to establish closer ties with the five Southeast Asian countries--Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines--which make up the ASEAN economic grouping. For the EEC, the strengthening of contacts with ASEAN is an attempt to secure a foothold in rich new markets, a sphere of advantageous investment of capital and new raw materials sources. In recent years light industry, oil refining, shipbuilding and precision machine building have been developing in the ASEAN countries. As this development proceeds Western monopolies seek to establish the ASEAN countries in the role of the "lower levels" of the production structure of transnational corporations: Labor-intensive types of production and the assembly of units and machines intended for export to developing countries are being located there. The monopolies are gambling on exploiting a relatively skilled work force whose wages are lower than in Europe. They are also taking advantage of the "favorable social climate" in ASEAN--that is, the relative weakness of the workers and trade union movement.

Southeast Asia accounts for 80 percent of world rubber production and 70 percent of tin extraction. There are great prospects for the extraction of oil and gas in the region. This raw material is extracted in Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, while Indonesia is already one of the major oil and gas exporters. Monopolies from many countries are competing for the right to exploit new deposits. The EEC countries are lagging considerably behind Japan and the United States as regards economic penetration of Southeast Asia, and now Western Europe is trying to catch up with its rivals, having come up against deteriorating economic circumstances. But for the developing countries of ASEAN, cooperation with EEC monopolies has no new advantages to offer: Like the Japanese and Americans, the West European monopolies are interested only in raw materials and in the sectors which promise guaranteed profits. ASEAN, on the contrary, is interested in developing national industry and financing economic development projects. However, both the EEC-ASEAN conference held last November in Manila and the present Jakarta meeting have brought only disappointment for the developing countries of Southeast Asia. Neither in Manila nor in Jakarta was the question of removing the tariff barriers hindering the sale in Europe of goods from ASEAN countries resolved. The EEC representatives sought to preserve the present inequitable situation in trade between the two groupings. The West European monopolies' neocolonialist practice is no different from the similar methods practiced by Japanese and U.S. monopolies.

SPK CITES PONOMAREV, OTHERS ON USSR SUPPORT FOR PRK

BK220945 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0402 GMT 21 Apr 81

[Text] Phnom Penh, 21 Apr (SPK)--"The Soviets are convinced that the relations of close friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and the PRK will continue to be consolidated and developed in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism," stated Nikolay Ponomarev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Committee, at a solemn meeting held in honor of the PRK's independence day. "The historic victory of 17 April 1975, which ended the bourgeois regime in Kampuchea, was the result of a protracted struggle, full of sacrifices, by the Kampuchean people for their freedom and sovereignty and against imperialist aggression and local reaction," stressed Vyatcheslav Dvoryakovskiy, chairman of the USSR-Kampuchea Friendship Association. During the past 2 years, the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Kampuchea National United Front For National Salvation and with the fraternal support of the countries of the socialist community, have achieved impressive successes in the normalization of life and the restoration of the economy, he said. The Soviets unreservedly support the PRK's foreign policy which advocates friendship and cooperation with all countries, and peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Mr Meas Samnang, Kampuchean ambassador to the Soviet Union, stressed the importance of the unselfish Soviet assistance to the PRK. He expressed the firm belief that the Soviet-Kampuchean relations will continue to be consolidated and developed successfully according to the principles of equality, fraternal friendship and proletarian internationalism.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 10TH PZPR PLENUM PROCEEDINGS

Kania's Opening Speech

LD292156 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 81

[TASS correspondent's report from Warsaw]

[Text] The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum began its work today. The Politburo's report on party tasks prior to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress was delivered by Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee. He said:

The Politburo proposes that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress be convened from 14 to 18 July. The proposed dates for the congress coincide with the July holiday, which is of symbolic significance. We count the new era in Poland as having started from the memorable July of 1944. This era is the era of the independent and secure existence in new borders, the era of socialist Poland, the era of fraternity and alliance of Poles and Poland with the Soviet people and the Soviet Union.

The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum will study two important documents: the program tenets concerning the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the leading role of the party in the building of socialism and the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the country; and also the draft of the amendments and additions to the party statute.

The common feature of the assessments and ideas contained in these two documents is the continuation of the political program line of the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was developed at subsequent plenums of the party Central Committee. Much discussion is now taking place in the party. This is dominated by the general wish to continue the line outlined, the line of socialist reforms of public life. This is also the wish of millions of working people.

As you know, the rapporteur went on to say, a very complex economic situation has been created in the country. We are not fulfilling plans. It is necessary to reckon with a more profound decline in the national income. The difficulties in the market caused by a reduction in supplies and the considerably increased cash incomes of the population are unusually palpable. Confidence in Poland in the sphere of cooperation with other countries is declining. We are not fulfilling contracts for exchange of goods. The difficulties in paying off our debts are increasing. This is, in the main, the result of errors permitted during the previous period and of difficulties connected with a very poor harvest.

However, and one should not forget this, this is also to a considerable extent the result of chaos in the economy, a fall in the level of discipline, strikes, a consequence of the continual tension which has existed during the last few months. Therefore, it is the fundamental task of the party, of the working class and all people who are worried about the fate of the country to observe a normal rhythm of work and honest management of the economy, to seek effective ways of bringing the national economy out of the crisis. There is no task of greater importance than day-to-day work.

It is good that, in accordance with the position of the PZPR Central Committee and all social forces with a sense of responsibility toward the country, the general strike was averted. The feeling of relief was general. But it was accompanied by concern as to whether this would be the last time that it would occur.

Among the leaders of Solidarity there were those who did not hide the fact that they were not satisfied with the lifting of the strike and who publicly opposed the representatives of the trade union who took part in the negotiations with the government.

As we can see, there is no shortage of people who do not recognize the limits of political adventurism, who disregard both the interests of the state and the interests of the workers on behalf of whom they are supposed to be acting.

Of particular importance is confidence in the government and the chairman of the Council of Ministers and also support for the proposal about refraining from strikes during the next 2 months. This stand taken by the Sejm has found broad social support. We ought to make every effort so that our government and its leader, Jaruzelski, sense concrete support for their actions designed to improve the situation in the country. Concern for internal order, for a conscientious discharge of duties by everybody, for the respect of law are today a national issue of foremost importance. The party, which plays the leading role in the construction of a socialist society, holds the key to overcoming the crisis. The process of socialist reforms cannot be carried out without renewal of the party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, without the rebirth of socialist ideals. What matters here is to turn, in practice, to the historical roots of socialsim. In them we find lasting values, untouched by time, but often deformed in practice.

The elimination of the things which caused the crisis does not mean the rejection of all the values which grew out of the experience of revolutionary, social and national movements, which were guided by humane motives, and out of the experience of the revolutionary workers' movement, in particular.

The proposed changes and additions to the PZPR Charter, particularly the growth in the role of the elective organs, and in the role of the party organizations and the extension of the rights of party members as well as the strengthening of the organs of control are in accordance with the idea of party democracy. We are seeing that in recent months new forms of contacts and discussion have appeared in party life in various committees and discussions, expressions of the activity and enlivening of party life. However, it must be very clearly stressed that this activity should not lead to an undermining and replacement of the historically tested Leninist ideas of the construction of the party, to the undermining of its monolithic nature, since this would be directed against the unity of the party and would lead to its split and the appearance of fragmentation. The elections in party organizations are already taking place, the rapporteur pointed out. In this respect, we should pay attention to the extension of participation by working people in the party organs, and as delegates to the congress. For the working people are the main strength of the party and of the people. Today they are also the main strength of the process of socialist renewal and they play a decisive role in creation of the party program, in the determination of PZFR policy and its implementation. Under the present conditions the party should take care that the ninth congress is a congress of the working people.

The second support in the structure of the activity of the party is centralism. It is not an alternative to democracy, just as democracy does not contradict centralism. Without democracy, unity is a petty and empty concept. It will be dead and without force. Unity of action of the whole party is the main condition for a way out of the crisis. There is a demand for improvement in the mechanism of the activity of the party and its members inside all the elected representative organs and especially within the people's councils and the Sejm.

The program theses of the congress, continued Kania, outline the basic guidelines of socialist transformation, the development of socialist democracy, strengthening of the leading role of the party and stabilization of its sociopolitical position in the country. A just evaluation of People's Poland's whole period of existence is essential. During this time, mistakes have been made. We have had some defeats and crises. However, it has been a time of development for the creative forces and of achievements of the working class. All these judgments, according to which the basic sources of our crisis are to be found in the violation of the principles of socialism and its economic laws, are correct.

The rapporteur also noted the important role of the trade unions, including Solidarity, and the industrial and autonomous trade unions.

He stressed that the party's program is addressed to all social sections. A special place in it is taken up by the problems of the young. Having noted that overcoming the worsening situation in the national economy requires great efforts and discipline, Kania drew attention to the importance of fundamental changes in the structure of the national economy, to the need for a sharp increase in the extraction of coal and to improving the supply of the population with basic consumer goods.

Stanislaw Kania spoke out in favor of deepening economic cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries, a cooperation in which Poland is profoundly interested.

All enemies of socialism link their hopes to a crisis. They want to use public dissatisfaction with the results of mistakes as a weapon to aim at socialism's foundations. They don the garb of defenders of workers' interests and act as heralds of dissatisfaction. They want to creat a condition of some singular anesthesia under which reaction to the so-called peaceful way of seizing power, creeping counterrevolution, would be removed.

We want to overcome our difficulties but they are seeking to use them. And here runs the line of division. An entire mechanism is operating which paralyzes the local links of power and the possibilities for action by the organs of public order; it also employs various methods to blackmail people who defend the principles of socialism and party policy.

All opponents of socialism are placing their hopes on their influence in Solidarity, on the possibility of using that organization for their purposes.

We profoundly believe that they will not succeed in doing so on a large scale. After all, this is a workers' organization. Many hundreds of thousands of party members operate in it. It is their duty to take care of the socialist outlook, to see to it that its activity is in accordance with the nature of a trade union.

Our position, our attitude toward Solidarity is determined by two factors, Stanislaw Kania said.

First, this is our intention vis-a-vis Solidarity since the moment of its establishment. We shaped them, basing ourselves on the declaration of the organizers, written down in the charter, which says that the trade union stands on principles of socialism, recognizes the party's leading role in the state and our international alliances and that it will not aspire to the role of a political party [sentence as heard].

The second factor determing our atittude toward Solidarity are the facts and the practice accompanying the activities of the trade union, its links and leaders [deyateli]. There are very many causes for anxiety. The weapon of strikes is being turned to in a too-precipitate fashion. It is a fact that enterprises have been seized during strikes. In many trade union publications, the principles of our system, our alliances and the party are being encroached upon. Anxiety is being aroused by speeches at trade union meetings by well-known opponents of socialism from the KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] leadership and by their real influence in the trade union.

Serious reflection should be caused by the demonstrative support of Solidarity by extreme rightwing forces in the West and the sabotage centers of the cold war forces.

Many remarks are also being provoked by the published program document which is called upon to outline the directions of the activities of Solidarity.

This document reflects views on many questions, says what the trade union will demand, what it intends to control. In it the trade union speaks out on important questions of the state policy. And these statements testify to wider ambitions than ensue from the nature of a trade union. But on the other hand, in this document it is far more difficult to find words expressing which joint responsibility Solidarity intends to take on itself in our country, in our state.

In conclusion, the programme says that Solidarity is the main guarantee for the process of renewal and asserts that there is no other force which can replace it in this matter.

We state: We come out against a monopoly on the guarantee for renewal. Our party sees a guarantee for renewal in another way. First of all, it should be a matter of a socialist process of renewal, for any other one is not progress but regression. Therefore, we advocate an agreement, an alliance of all forces which hold dear the cause of the salvation of national existence. This agreement, this alliance is the foundation of the success of the socialist process of renewal. Such an alliance will be assisted in every way by us and favorable conditions will be created for it. Our party will assist it together with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Here we see a platform for extensive cooperation with all trade unions, branch trade unions, Solidarity and autonomous ones, with youth and women's organizations and with the church, whose constructive actions and opportunities we value, for interaction with people who adhere to various views and with all patriotic forces. Such an alliance is now essential for Poland, for it creates a real guarantee of escaping the crisis.

Weakening of Poland's strength, undermining its socialist essence and the alliances which have stood the test of history, these are actions aimed at weakening the whole socialist community, undermining all the factors which for 36 years now have been the supports of our national security, independence and the firmness of our borders.

We fully understand the deep concern of the communist parties and of the fraternal socialist countries, their disquiet at the growth in Poland of those tendencies and processes which are aimed at weakening the economy and undermining the socialist state. This was stated in Comrade Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress, at the recently concluded congresses of other fraternal parties. At the same time, they expressed international solidarity and conviction that our party, acting in accordance with the line of the sixth and subsequent plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, would overcome the difficulties and lead Poland onto the path of harmonious development on the basis of the principles and ideas of socialism.

We, said Stanislaw Kania, shall do everything to preserve and strengthen socialism in Poland. We shall not allow anyone to encroach upon the foundation on which depends the alliance with the land of the soviets, and with all the states of the socialist community. This is the patriotic and international duty of the PZPR and of all its members.

The congress we are approaching is of historic importance, Kania stressed in conclusion. Everything must be done to ensure that the precongress campaign takes place in the best way, that its results guarantee that the congress justifies the expectations which the whole party connects with it.

PZPR Politburo Changes

LD300738 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Text] The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended its work today. The plenum listened to and discussed the Central Committee Politburo report on the party's tasks prior to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress which was delivered by Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee.

Also discussed were the draft theses for the congress, and changes and additions to the party charter. The plenum decided to convene the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress for 14-18 July this year.

As PAP reports, the plenum agreed to the request of Pinkowski to be released from his duties as member of the Politburo; Wojtaszek, from his duties as candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Wojtecki from his duties as secretary of the Central Committee and Zielinski from his duties as member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The plenum elected Gabrys and Wronski as members of the Politburo; Masny as a candidate member; and Cypryniak as secretary of the Central Committee.

Stanislaw Kania made a closing speech at the plenum.

KOR ATTEMPTING 'TO TAKE POWER WITHOUT VIOLENCE'

NC291420 Paris AFP in English 1235 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (AFP)--The Polish opposition dreams of seizing power but without force, the Soviet Communist Party magazine AGITATOR commented today in an article on the dissident KOR social self-defence movement.

The paper saw in KOR an essentially anti-socialist organisation whose activities continually developed since the early 1970's. "It is trying to legalise its activities as a political opposition to the Polish party," AGITATOR said.

It wrote that KOR was "acting with forces hostile to socialism to take power without violence."

KOR's strategy, the paper said, was to get "certain opposition deputies into state organisms at all levels" and to use the Solidarity union as a political tribune for its subversive activities despite the fact that such acts were contradictory to Solidarity's statues." [quotation marks as received]

At the same time, AGITATOR expressed concern at forms of anarchy developing in Poland and those opponents who were calling for disruption in production, attacking party militants, upsetting the work of the party and state, and blackening the name of the socialist experiment.

SINITSIN COMMENT ON SOCIALIST UNITY BEHIND POLAND

LD291617 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Apr 81 p 1

[Igor Sinitsin "International Review": "Great Force of Unity"]

[Excerpts] The sunny month of April is the spring of light. This year it has demonstrated with special force the inextinguishable light of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their realization in the practice and the way of life of the peoples of the socialist community. The 12th BCP Congress, the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th SED Congress have joined the friendly work formation alongside our party's 26th congress.

The great achievements of real socialism have been thrown into still greater relief as a result of the work of the communist forums. They have shown clearly that the community's ruling parties are concentrating all their efforts in two interrelated directions. One of them is communist creation, and the other the consolidation of peace.

Today our class enemies are endeavoring to do everything to erode socialism from within. To this end they make use of pressure and blackmail, false propaganda, flattery and demagoguery, support and encouragement for counterrevolutionary forces--where they still remain--and other kinds of subsersive actions.

International imperialism is constantly seeking to weaken the unity of the socialist community and to wrest one country or another from the fraternal family by interfering in internal affairs. We have witnessed this in Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia and are now observing it in Poland. The fraternal parties' congresses have pointed to the seriousness of the situation in Poland, where antisocialist and counter-revolutionary elements are creating anarchy in the country's political and economic life and are jeopardizing the foundations of socialism. It was emphasized that Poland's continued existence as a strong link of the socialist community is an important factor for stability in European and world politics. All those who are trying to misuse the events in that country to fan antisocialist campaigns must be reminded that the safeguarding of the socialist system is a matter for each of the socialist states, but at the same time also the common cause of the socialist community.

The delegates at the Czechoslovak forum, as well as the communists of the USSR, Bulgaria and the GDR and the numerous foreign guests of our congresses, declared their fraternal solidarity with the Polish communists and with all of Poland's patriots who come out in defense of and for the strengthening of socialism in their country. With the support of all true patriots the Polish communists, it is to be supposed, will manage to deal the necessary refuff to the designs of enemies of the socialist system, who are also enemies of Poland's independence, and will manage to uphold the cause of socialism, their people's true interests and their motherland's security.

RUDE PRAVO CITED ON OPPORTUNISM, REVISIONISM

LD291021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 81 p 5

[Correspondent I. Biryukov dispatch under the rubric "Fraternal Newspapers: the News of the Day": "The Experience of History Reminds Us"]

[Text] Prague, 23 Apr--The CPCZ' 60 years' experience is bound up with the vigorous struggle against opportunism, rightwing revisionism and leftist sectarianism, RUDE PRAVO writes today. The entire history of the CPCZ confirms that only the consistent application of the general laws of socialist building and of the CPSU's experience, and only loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching have been the source of all our successes. Any deviation from the Leninist principles of party life has brought us heavy losses, the newspaper remarks.

RUDE PRAVO recalls that imperialism, as is shown in particular by the situation in Poland, is gambling on "eroding" socialist society from within. At the end of the sixties the Czechoslovak communists won a victory over the counterrevolutionary forces. This historic experience was reflected in the document "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society Following the 13th CPCZ Congress." An important prerequisite of the successful building of socialist society, RUDE PRAVO writes, is firm political leadership. The experience of the CPCZ's struggle against opportunism and revisionism and for the observance of the Leninist norms of party life confirms the improtance of the party's ideological and political unity, of the purity of its ranks, of its deep links with the masses and of the daily struggle against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

EC CANCELS TRADE RESTRICTIONS WITH SOVIET UNION

LD292126 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2010 GMT 29 Apr 81

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] The Commission of the European Communities, the leading organ of the Common Market, has canceled the restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union that were introduced in January 1980, under pressure from Washington.

As is known, last week the U.S. administration lifted the ban on the sale of grain to our country. This embargo, established by former President Carter, caused substantial losses for U.S. farmers and undermined trust in the United States as a reliable trade partner. In short, economic blackmail undertaken against our country turned out to have a boomerang effect for the initiator of this venture.

It is no accident that many countries, despite Washington's pressure, refused last year to be subjected to the diktat of the United States and even increased trade with the Soviet Union.

BRANDT URGES BREZHNEV-REAGAN DISARMAMENT SUMMIT

LD290853 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 81 p 5

[TASS report: "Brandt Statement"]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr--Political detente and the practical results of cooperation are impossible without the attainment of certain results in disarmament and in the arms control sphere, W. Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, stated in an interview for the Yugoslav weekly NIN. It is not enough for Chancellor Schmidt to have talks with R. Reagan and then with Chairman L.I. Brezhnev; it is necessary for L.I. Brezhnev and R. Reagan to meet and have talks, which I think they will do, although it may take some time. The fact that Schmidt is to go to Washington in May and L.I. Brezhnev is to visit Bonn later indicates that all is not yet lost.

In no circumstances would I agree with those who assert that detente is over, Brandt noted. The very fact that the meeting of representatives of states which took part in the CSCE is taking place in Madrid proves that the most diverse forces, states and political leaders are unwilling to discard all that is associated with Helsinki.

As well as talks between the two great powers on questions of strategic arms, Brandt went on to note, there are vitally important interests--concerning my country, for instance--in talks on strategic arms in Europe. It is necessary to establish conditions in which NATO does not create a counterweight, or in which the two sides can at least reach agreement on arms limitation and reduction.

MORE REPORTAGE ON MEETING BETWEEN CPSU, FINNISH CP

LD291904 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, TASS--Now that the world situation has aggravated because of actions of imperialist forces, there is no more important task than to defend peace, to continue and to deepen detente, to curb the arms race, to carry out efficient measures of disarmament. This has been stated by the delegations of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Finland at a meeting that was held at the CPSU Central Committee on April 27-28.

During their conversations they noted that the European peoples now feel particular concern in connection with the plans of the U.S. administration and NATO to deploy in West European countries new types of nuclear missiles and thereby to imperil the future of the continent.

These plans also directly affect the security of the European north. Therefore, in the present-day conditions the proposal of the President of Finland Urho Kekkonen that north Europe be announced a nuclear-free zone assumes a still greater topicality. Realization of the proposal would help strengthen peace and tranquillity in the region, which would meet the aspirations and the common interests of the north European peoples.

The parties to the negotiations noted that the militaristic course of the United States and NATO towards Europe encounters growing resistance of the peoples of European countries in which an anti-war movement is unfolding. Both sides believe that additional efforts, mass actions with the participation of the broadest political and public forces are required to thwart this course. Required primarily are actions of the communists and social democrats, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, representatives of various political trends which are able to make such an anti-war, anti-nuclear movement efficient and broad.

It was emphasized that it is necessary to consistently put into life in the relations between states all provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The need of a constructive outcome of the Madrid meeting, of its adoption of the decision to hold a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe was stressed.

Representatives of the Communist Party of Finland emphasized the priority international significance of the Soviet program of peace for 1980's, which was adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, the program which consistently continues the principled and stable line of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the line of peace, detente and disarmament, which meets the interests of all peoples. They highly appreciated the activities of the CPSU Central Committee, and Leonid Brezhnev personally, which are aimed at ensuring peace, at strengthening the forces of progress and world socialism.

Representatives of both parties expressed satisfaction with the successful development of Soviet-Finnish relations in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres and expressed the intention to comprehensively help strengthen these relations and to give a rebuff to any attempts to weaken Soviet-Finnish friendship.

Taking part in the talk were member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Suslov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Boris Ponomarev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Zimyanin, Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee Vitaliy Shaposhnikov. Taking part in the meeting from the Communist Party of Finland were Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland Aarne Saarinen, Vice-Chairman of the Party Taisto Sinisalo, General Secretary of the Party Arvo Aalto, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland Urho Jokinen and Olavi Poikolainen.

ISRAEL BLAMED FOR GROWTH OF LEBANESE CONFLICT

LD292206 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] New York, 29 Apr, TASS--The widening of the scopes of the armed conflict in Lebanon is a direct result of the escalation of the aggression by Israel which has already resorted to direct attacks against the inter-Arab peace-keeping forces. Reporting that Israeli planes shot down yesterday two Syrian helicopters with loads of food, the U.S. press explains the intensification of Tel Aviv's criminal actions by the backing that the Washington administration gives to the Israeli military.

The New York TIMES pointed to this. It stressed that the aggression has been escalated after the Reagan administration promised to avoid criticising its friends and expressed understanding for Israel's military needs. The newspaper writes that such a stand by Washington enabled the Israeli strategists to consider the possibility of a broader interference in Lebanon.

According to the information of the television company CBS, Washington was well aware that Israel intends to escalate military operations in Lebanon and actually solidarised with Tel Aviv.

The aggravation of tension in Lebanon, which, as observers indicate, is fraught with serious danger of the worsening of the situation in the region as a whole shows again that the Camp David collusion was, indeed, an initial step not to a durable peace in the Middle East but to the knocking together of a military bloc consisting of the United States, Israel and As-Sadat's Egypt, the bloc spearheaded against the Arabs.

Syrian Contingent Attacked

LD291032 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Beirut, 29 Apr, TASS--The Israeli military have committed another provocative sortie in Lebanon. Israeli aircraft intruded into the country's airspace and bombed a number of regions in the Al-Biqa' Valley. Missile attacks were launched against the positions of the Syrian contingent of the inter-Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon around the city of Zahlah. Israeli planes shot down two Syrian transport helicopters carrying food.

Towns Bombed

LD291950 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Beirut, 29 Apr, TASS--Tel Aviv is expanding aggression against the Republic of Lebanon. Israeli aircraft today made strafing and bombing raids against the populated localities of Wadi al-Ahdar, al-Ayshiyah, Shir al-Jurmuq and Ad-Dimashqiyah. They also made repeated flights over the Lebanese capital.

At the same time, Lebanese rightist-Christian forces, backed by Israel, are stepping up military actions against the Palestine resistance movement in Lebanon as well as against the Syrian troops, making up part of the inter-Arab peace-keeping force in this country.

Further beefing up of the forces of the Phalangists, operating in the Lebanese territory with direct support from the United States and Israel, is expected. Fighting takes place in the area of Beirut and in other parts of the country.

Meanwhile, Tel Aviv threatens to give added scale to hostilities. This is seen in particular from Israel's proposal to the command of the United Nations interim force in Lebanon that units of the force be withdrawn from the zones of clashes.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON AL-QADHDHAFI VISIT TO MOSCOW

Jabir, Ustinov Meet

LD291006 Tripoli JANA in English 0943 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)--Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Forces, last night met with Marshal Dimitriy Ustinov, member of the Soviet Politburo and minister of defence.

Cooperation Protocol

LD291318 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, TASS--Talks have been held here between Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Semen Skachkov and Secretary for Atomic Energitics of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah 'Abd al-Majid al-Qa'id, Secretary for Heavy Industry 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir and Secretary for Electrification J. al-Arbash. The sides discussed a broad range of questions of equitable and mutually beneficial Soviet-Libyan economic and technical cooperation. Special attention was given to prospects of the further development and deepening of that cooperation on a stable and long-term basis. A protocol has been signed on the completion of the talks.

Joint Communique

LD291824 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 29 Apr 81

["Full Text" of the "Joint Soviet-Libyan Communique;" issued in Moscow, 29 April]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, TASS--"Leader of the Revolution of September 1 in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was staying in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet from April 27 to April 29, 1981.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and the delegation accompanying him were accorded by the Soviet leaders and the Soviet people a hospitable welcome expressing the spirit of durable friendship that is linking the two peoples. Mu'ammur al-Qadhdhafi placed wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and the Unknown Soldier's Tomb.

There were talks of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Boris Ponomarev with the leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, Commander of the Armed Forces of the Libyan Jamahiriyah Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, Secretary of the People's Bureau for External Relations 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, Secretary for Atomic Power Energetics 'Abd al-Majid al-Qaud, Secretary of Contacts on Foreign Affairs 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, Secretary for Heavy Industries 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, Secretary for Electricity Jum'ah al-Arbash.

Taking part in the talks from the Soviet side were USSR Deputy Foweign Minister Nikita Ryzhov, aid of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yevgeniy Samoteykin, USSR Ambassador in the Libyan Jamahiriyah Anatoliy Anisimov, Chief of the First Department for African Affairs of the USSR Foreign Ministry Aleksey Shvedov. Taking part in the talks from the Libyan side were Ibrahim Bjad, the press secretary in the Secretariat of Contacts; Muhammad [illegible] Sha'ban, the secretary of Libya's People's Bureau in the USSR; Yahia Zakaria, the director of the European Department of the People's Bureau for External Relations; Abdullah Yahalla, the director of the Department of Law at the People's Bureau for External Relations; Ashur Ben Hayal, the director of the Department for Technological Cooperation at the People's Bureau for External Relations.

During the talks that were held in the atmosphere of broad mutual understanding and friendship, the sides discussed matters of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres. They expressed satisfaction with the high level that has been achieved in the Soviet-Libyan relations and spoke for the continuation of development and widening of these relations. The Soviet and Libyan leaders confirmed that regular meetings between them are of special significance for further strengthening of the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and agreed on the widening of mutual contacts and consultations at various levels.

Leonid Brezhnev told Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi about the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The particular attention was paid to the programme of practical measures and proposals advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress and aimed at radical improvement of the situation in the world, at the deepening of detente and consolidation of security of peoples. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi highly assessed this constructive programme that promotes the strengthening of the opposition to the imperialist policy of the heightening of tensions, of the arms race, of threats and interference in internal affairs of peoples.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi told the Soviet leaders about the successes of the Libyan revolution in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields, achieved as a result of the establishment of direct people's democracy and people's power and the right given to the people to shape their destiny themselves, to govern the country, to posses the country's riches and arms the defence of the revolution [sentence as received]. [Tripoli Voice of the Arab Homeland in Arabic at 2015 GMT on 29 Apr carries the following: "The Brother Colonel briefed the Soviet leaders on the achievements scored by the Great September Revolution in political economic, social and cultural domains through the implementation of direct popular democracy and materialization of the power of the people and its control over power, wealth, and arms."] The Soviet leaders highly assessed the gains of the Libyan revolution in these fields and the effort of the Libyan people in the struggle for the fulfillment of the common national aspirations of the Arab nation against imperialism, colonialism, racialism and Zionism.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and the Libyan Jamahiriyah considered in detail questions of the present international situation. National wealth of their countries at their own discretion. [sentence as received] [Tripoli Voice of the Arab Homeland in Arabic at 2015 GMT on 29 Apr carries the following: "The two sides expressed their common belief that the lessening of tension and the removal of the causes of tension and the consolidation of peace would help peoples develop in a free and independent manner and ensure complete control over their natural resources and the useful exploitation of these resources."]

The two sides resolutely condemn the striving of imperialist circles, especially of the USA, to declare arbitrarily these or other regions of the world a sphere of their "vital interests" and to exert for this purpose military, political and economic pressure on the independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Soviet Union and the Libyan Jamahiriyah also condemn the attempts made by imperialist circles to equate "international terrorism", which is condemned by the international community, with the liberation struggle of the peoples. The legitimacy of this struggle was solemnly confirmed by the historic declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and other UN decisions. They reject the imperialists' claims to have full freedom of action, under the signboard of struggle against "international terrorism", for suppressing the liberation movements which are fighting for the freedom and national independence of their peoples.

The two sides firmly believe that relations between states should rest on the principles of equality and mutually beneficial cooperation, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and renunciation of the use of force or threat of force.

In discussing the situation in the Middle East the two sides stated that the situation there continues to be tense and extremely dangerous. They point out that the Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty only aggravated the explosive character of the situation in the region and made the prospects for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East more remote. The Soviet Union and Jamahiriyah pointed out earlier more than once that these agreements contradict the basic interests of the Arab countries and peoples, are designed to split their ranks, to strengthen Israel's colonisation in the occupied Arab territories and are being used by the United States for increasing its military presence in the region.

The leaders of the USSR and the Libyan Jamahiriyah resolutely condemn Israel's intentions to entrench itself in the lands it seized from Arab peoples. The sides regard any action of Israel aimed at the construction of Israeli settlements in those lands, at changing Jerusalem's status, the desecration of Arab historic, religious and cultural values, the heightening of reprisals and racial discrimination against the Arab population, terror against the Palestinians and their leaders as a gross violation of international law and a serious obstacle to the attainment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Together with other states concerned the Soviet Union and Libya will be doing everything towards achieving an all-embracing Middle Eastern settlement on the basis of complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and towards the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, to the extent of the creation of its own independent state.

The sides reject categorically the separate decisions and the attempts of the Egyptian regime, Israel and the United States to usurp the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. In this connection they qualify the talks on the so-called Palestinian autonomy as an attempt to deprive the Arab people of Palestine of the opportunity to decide its destiny by itself.

The Soviet Union has a positive attitude to the steps taken by Libya and Syria to consolidate their unity and regards this as an important factor of strengthening of the positions of the Arab nation in the struggle against the Zionist and imperialist intrigues in the region.

The Libyan side informed the Soviet side of the concentration and exercises of Egyptian forces on Libya's border with Egypt, the actions that constitute a threat to Libya's independence, its security and to the course of progressive social development it has chosen.

The sides confirmed that they condemn the attempts of imperialism and reaction that are striving to deal a blow at the Libyan revolution and at the gains of the Libyan people.

The Soviet Union highly assesses the positive role played by the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation in the struggle against the plot of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for frustrating the capitulatory Camp David course.

The sides expressed the conviction that the anti-imperialist actions of states, of the national patriotic forces of the Arab world, the strengthening of their cooperation with countries of the socialist community assume an ever growing significance in the present situation in the Middle East.

The sides expressed concern about the worsening of the situation in Lebanon and condemned the continued aggressive actions against the people of Lebanon by Israel and its agents that are backed from the outside. The sides declared for an immediate end to the aggressive actions of this sort, for the ensurance of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, for the consolidation of sovereignty of the Lebanese Government over the entire territory of the country and for the observance of the lawful interests of the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon. The USSR and the Libyan Jamahiriyah will continue opposing the attempts to make the Lebanese crisis an international one as the attempts that contradict the interests of the Arab peoples and of the cause of peace in the Middle East. [sentence as received] [Tripoli Voice of the Arab Homeland in Arabic at 2015 GMT on 29 Apr carries the following: "The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and the USSR oppose attempts to internationalize the Lebanese crisis, regarding them as directed against the interests of the Arab peoples and the cause of peace in the region."]

The Soviet Union and Libya expressed serious concern over the continuing conflict between Iraq and Iran and over imperialism's attempts at using it for its narrow purposes. The sides declared for its earliest political settlement. They support the United Nations' and the Non-Aligned Movement's efforts towrds a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Having considered the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea area, the sides firmly condemned the unceasing attempts by the USA and other imperialist powers at interfering in the internal affairs of the states of the area, the concentration there of their naval and air forces which are creating a threat to peace. They hold that the use of the military bases located in Diego Garcia Island, in the territories of Egypt, Kenya, Oman, and Somalia by the USA is of great danger to the independence and security of the states of the region. They resolutely come out against the formation of military-political blocs in that part of the world and pronounce in favour of creating an atmosphere of stability and tranquility in the Persian Gulf area on the basis of guarantees of the sovereign rights of the littoral states and the safety of sea and other communications linking it with the rest of the world.

The USSR and Libya are again stating their solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its struggle for independence and sovereignty. They emphasized necessity of such a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan which would reliably guarantee cessation and non-resumption of all forms of interference from the outside in the affairs of that country by imperialist and reactionary forces. Such a settlement of the international aspects of the Afghan problem may be the subject of both separate discussion and discussion together with Persian Gulf security matters.

The sides exchanged views on some matters of the situation in the Mediterranean. They emphasized a special importance of keeping peace and security in this sensitive area which is at the junction of three continents--Europe, Asia and Africa. The sides noted close connection between security in the European Continent and that in the Mediterranean area. They expressed the wish for the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to lead to positive results, which would promote not only an improvement of the political climate in Europe but could also be of importance for improving the situation in the Mediterranean.

Reaffirming their solidarity with the struggle for full elimination of colonialism and racism in Africa, the sides come out for immediate termination of the occupation of Namibia and withdrawal of South African troops from its territory, for urgent and full implementation of the UN resolutions on Namibia, and for the transfer of power in the country to the Namibian people's sole and genuine representative--the SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization].

The sides support the struggle by the people of South Africa for the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid, and demand an end to aggressive actions by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa against Angola and Mozambique. The collusion between the racist regimes in Israel and the Republic of South Africa, directed against the liberation struggle of Arab and African peoples deserves every condemnation and firm counteraction. They again reaffirm their stand in support of the UN General Assembly's Resolution No. 3379, which was adopted at its 30th session, on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

The sides note the current normalization of the situation in Chad and the positive role which has been played by the aid which was given to Chad by Libya in compliance with the request by the legitimate Chadian Government in the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere in the country. They hold that an end should be put to imperialist and reactionary forces' intrigues in Chad and around it.

The sides confirmed the necessity of searches for ways for a settlement of the Western Sahara problem in keeping with UN resolutions including that on the granting of the right to self-determination to the Saharan people.

The sides are reaffirming their solidarity with Vietnam's, Laos' and Kampuchea's efforts aimed at ensuring peace in the area, at establishing relations of goodneighbourliness and cooperation. They resolutely insist on the termination of interference by imperialist and hegemonist forces in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean peoples.

The sides note the important role which is played by the Non-Aligned Movement in international affairs on the basis of its basic principles--the struggle for relaxation of international tension, for peace throughout the world, against imperialism and neo-colonialism, racism and reaction, and for the strengthening of national independence.

The sides emphasized the necessity to do away with the exploitation of the natural resources of the developing states by monopolies, to ensure respect for the peoples' sovereign rights to the resources for their utilization in the interests of their economic development. They reaffirmed the importance of restructuring the existing international economic relations and establishing a new economic order in the world on the basis of justice and equality.

Having condemned the attempts by the militarist forces to unleash a new round of the arms race, the sides declared for continuation or resumption of the earlier started multilateral and bilateral talks on restraining the arms race and on disarmament. In this connection attention was devoted to the complex of proposals advanced by the Soviet Union, first of all those concerning weapons of mass destruction. A businesslike and detailed consideration of the proposals and their implementation would contribute to a radical improvement of the international situation, to lessening the threat of war and to strengthening international security.

The USSR and Libya went on record in support of the proposals to declare Africa and the Middle East nuclear-free zones, along with Latin America, and to establish zones of peace in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and in Southeast Asia.

The Soviet Union and Libya regard as highly useful and topical the proposal on setting up a competent international committee which would include the most eminent scientists and which would demonstrate the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The sides stressed the important role of the United Nations Organization as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and international security and for the development of peaceful cooperation between states, and stated their intention to contribute to further strengthening and enhancing the role of the UNO on the basis of the observance of its Charter.

The most important questions of relations between the Soviet Union and Libya and prospects for the development of their further cooperation were discussed during the talks.

The sides emphasized that the principles of mutual respect, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism are a firm lasting foundation of these relations.

Leonid Brezhnev and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi noted with satisfaction the successful and growing development of bilateral Soviet-Libyan relations in various fields in recent years. They stated the readiness of the Soviet Union and Libya to continue in the interests of the two peoples.

In the opinion of the sides, the achieved level of economic cooperation and trade exchanges between the two countries makes it possible to continue to expand the volume of trade and economic contacts.

In this connection the sides reaffirmed an important role of the joint mixed commission and the necessity of invigorating its activities for the purposes of implementation of the existing plans for cooperation in various fields.

A program for cultural and scientific cooperation for 1981-1982 was signed during Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's stay in Moscow.

The sides expressed deep satisfaction with the results of the visit, and consider that it has become an effective contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the two countries.

The leader of the Libyan revolution expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet people and its leaders for the warm welcome accorded to him and to the delegation accompanying him as well as for the hospitality and cordiality with which he was welcomed during the visit. He invited Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to visit the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. Time for the visit is to be determined additionally".

Comment on Arab Coverage

LD300154 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Aleksandr Timoshkin commentary from the "Window on the Arab World" program]

[Text] Who hinders Arab-Soviet cooperation? The leader of the Libyan revolution, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, has concluded his official visit to the USSR where he had talks with Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders. Many international issues, the situation in the Middle East and bilateral relations were discussed, and the main directions of the development and widening of the all-encompassing Soviet-Libyan cooperation, based on the strong foundation of complete equality, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit, were defined. No doubt the results of the Soviet-Libyan talks will become a new positive contribution to the consolidation of the ranks of the revolutionary forces working against imperialism and for freedom, people's independence and peace.

The media in a number of Arab countries confirmed in their commentaries the importance of the consolidation of Soviet-Libyan relations and Soviet-Arab relations in general as well as of the firm confrontation of imperialism's neocolonialist intrigues in the Middle East and the continued Israeli aggression. This is what causes the [words indistinct] in America, Israel and Egypt, where propaganda is exploiting Al-Qadhdhafi's visit in order to increase the hysteria on the illusionary Soviet danger to the Arab world. The most active on this ugly level is As-Sadat's propaganda, which [words indistinct] and does not hesitate to make the strangest fabrications in its attempt to attribute to the USSR intentions hostile to the Arabs, and to the Libyan revolution the role of the assistant.

In other words, As-Sadat's propaganda wants to attribute to the USSR those objectives in the Arab world for which U.S. imperialism is working and to the Libyan Jamahiriyah, that ugly role played by the Egyptian regime in the Arab world. It is not difficult to explain why the Camp David parties are pushed together against the growing and positive Soviet-Libyan cooperation. This cooperation is becoming a bigger obstacle to the achievement of the anti-Arab intrigue being carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their Egyptian and Israeli helpers.

Paris Paper on Visit Hit

LD291632 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 29 Apr 81

["Wrong Address"--TASS headline; by TASS observer Georgiy Sashin]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr, TASS--An item in the Parisian newspaper LES ECHOS concerning the Soviet-Libyan talks in Moscow stand [as received] out sharply in the flow of foreign comments on these talks. These writings in LES ECHOS are strange, indeed.

Thus, the authors of the item in LES ECHOS seek a certain "secret" meaning in the clear cut wording of the reports on the talks. Thus, they tried to read some "differences" into the words about the atmosphere of friendship and openness. Further then, the Parisian newspaper writes that Libya refused to meet the Soviet Union's demand for the granting to it of military bases in Libya's territory.

What can be said about such an assertion; only one thing, that it is a brazen lie. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union does not seek either political domination or concessions, or military bases in lands of others, including the African Continent.

The falsehood published in LES ECHOS makes one think that its authors are simply ignorant of such a subject as geography and gave the wrong address for this reason. It is not the Soviet Union but the United States and other Western powers that have military bases in Africa and in the Middle East, the bases that present a constant threat to countries of those regions. And what matters here, is, apparently, not geography but politics or, to be more precise, certain political calculations that prompted the Parisian newspaper to published an obvious falsehood.

SIGNIFICANCE OF KUWAITI OFFICIAL'S VISIT STRESSED

LD291101 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Apr 81 p 3

[Yu. Tyssovskiy article: "In the Arab World's Interests"]

[Text] The report that Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and foreign minister, would pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at the Soviet Government's invitation had a sobering effect on those Western circles who have been going on and on about the horrors of the "Soviet threat" allegedly hanging over the countries in the Persian Gulf zone. As the newspaper THE ARAB TIMES pointed out on the eve of the distinguished Kuwaiti visitor's arrival in our country, "his visit will underscore Kuwait's view that Russia has no aggressive intentions concerning the Persian Gulf states as is constantly claimed by U.S. and British officials who use such fabrications as an excuse to interfere in the region's internal affairs." This succinct and clear statement requires no further commentary.

The visit's importance is to a considerable extent predetermined by the extremely serious situation which has developed in the Near East and the Persian Gulf region as a result of the sharp increase in the aggressiveness of the imperialist forces--especially the United States--which are trying to force their military and political control on the Arab states.

The Pentagon's plans to create U.S. military bases around the region have already reached the stage of practical implementation, exercises by the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force are continually being held in California's Mojave Desert and a battalion of these forces has even held maneuvers in the immediate vicinity of the Gulf region--on Egyptian soil. In other words, Washington's billy club has already been raised over the heads of those "dissidents" who refuse to reconcile themselves to "Pax Americana" in the Near and Middle East and with the Camp David agreements which betray the Arabs. And this is the real threat, not the hoary fantasies of U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig and head of the British Government Mrs M. Thatcher, both of whom recently visited the Gulf states, about "the hand of Moscow."

This is how the situation which has developed there is viewed even by statesmen in Arab countries customarily regarded as "conservative." At a press conference at the beginning of April 'Abd al-Aziz Husayn, Kuwaiti minister of state for cabinet affairs, stated baldly that there was no justification whatever for the increase in U.S. activity in the region. The U.S. actions can only result in an exacerbation of the situation, this being contrary to the interests of the states there, and could have negative consequences for the world economy. In an interview with the newspaper AL-BAYAN, published in the United Arab Emirates, he stressed on behalf of his government that Kuwait is totally opposed to the buildup of a foreign military presence in the Persian Gulf and considers that safeguarding the region's security is the job of the states situated there. Shortly afterwards, in an interview with the Qatar newspaper AL-'ARAB, Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, Saudi Arabian minister of defense and aviation, repeated his words almost verbatim.

Thus Kuwait's position on this issue has been clearly stated and to a large extent coordinated with the viewpoints of the majority of the other Gulf states. This appears to be the reason why, when touring the Near East, transoceanic and other Western visitors steer clear of the Emirates capital--their views are not accepted there. At the same time Kuwait has a constructive influence not only on events in the Gulf zone but also on other regions of the Near and Middle East, pursuing a policy aimed at a lasting and just solution of the Near East crisis. The Emirate's people unanimously reject attempts to achieve a separate settlement of the conflict at the expense of the Arab people of Palestine. "Any solution of the Palestinian problem," Kuwaiti Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah said in an interview with the Lebanese weekly LE REVUE DU LIBAN, "must be based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, especially from Arab Jerusalem, and the Palestinian people being granted their lawful right to determine their own fate and to create their own independent state under the leadership of their sole lawful representative--the Palestine Liberation Organization." Kuwait's initiatives on solving the Lebanese crisis, which include sharing in the financing of inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in the country, deserve respect and attention.

Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Kuwait were established on 11 March, 1963. As early as 1964 the USSR was visited by Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, minister of finance, industry and trade, who is now head of state. This was followed by a series of economic and trade agreements between the two countries, as a result of which the volume of reciprocal trade has constantly increased. Soviet experts have contributed to establishing Kuwait's fishing fleet and to its health care system. Both countries also hold political consultations at various levels on issues of concern to them.

One such issue is of vital importance to the Arab countries. Commenting on the visit as it begins, KUNA expressed the view that in Moscow the deputy prime minister will discuss the problem of the Persian Gulf region's security in the light of the well-known proposals made by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from the rostrum of the Indian Parliament last December and developed in the Central Committee report to the 26th CPSU Congress. When discussing this important problem Kuwait will, in the view of political commentators, be representing all the other countries in the region. Now, the Soviet doctrine of peace and security with regard to the Persian Gulf region and the Indian Ocean is the exact opposite of the doctrine of aggression and war elaborated by the Carter administration in its time. The Soviet peace plan for this region is based on the aspirations and wishes of the peoples inhabiting it and a discussion of the USSR's initiative with a representative of the Persian Gulf states could be the first practical step toward translating it into reality.

One can only agree with the view of the Kuwaiti newspaper THE ARAB NEWS, which wrote that the visit to Moscow by the country's foreign minister "will be a fruitful one and will benefit the Arab world greatly." For their part, the Soviet people share this desire.

Further on Visit

LD291035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 81 p 4

[TASS report: "Desire To Strengthen Ties"]

[Text] Kuwait, 26 Apr--The warm reception accorded to the Kuwaiti delegation in Moscow is clear evidence of the friendship which links the two countries' peoples, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Kuwait, told journalists on his return from the Soviet Union, where he had been on an official visit.

He expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Government and all the Soviet people for the hospitality and stressed that the atmosphere of complete trust which prevailed during the Kuwaiti delegation's visit in Moscow promoted the successful conduct of the talks.

During our meetings in Moscow we are constantly aware of the Soviet leadership's profound understanding of Kuwait's stance on various questions and of the desire to further develop friendly relations between our two states, Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah said.

He expressed confidence that the results of the Soviet-Kuwaiti talks will promote the successful development of cooperation between the two countries and will be a positive contribution to the cause of resolving many international and inter-Arab problems.

Despite the different social systems, the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-QABAS writes, Kuwait and the Soviet Union are linked by firm relations of cooperation and brought together by a common approach to many international issues, above all the Near East problem.

The Soviet Union and Kuwait, the newspaper notes, came out in favor of convening an international conference on the Near East with the necessary participation of the PLO, on an equal footing with the other participants.

The two countries, the newspaper AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM notes in its turn, stated that they are opposed to the creation of military bases in the Persian Gulf countries and came out in support of the right of states in the region to ensure their own security without outside interference.

USSR-IRAN SHIPPING PROTOCOL SIGNED IN MOSCOW

LD291928 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 29 Apr 81

["USSR-Iranian Cooperation in Ocean Transportation"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (TASS)--A protocol on ocean shipping was signed in Moscow today between the USSR and Iran. It was signed by Vitaliy Zbarshchenko, member of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and Shahmorad Kanani Moqaddam, deputy minister of roads and transport of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In the course of the talks which preceded the signing and in which representative delegations from both ministries took part, the two parties stated that lately the volume of freight transportation on the Caspian Sea to Iran's northern ports had increased considerably and the transportation of goods in containers and packets had been expanded. In particular, the Iranian ports of Anzali and Now Shahr had handled 210,000 tons of freight more in 1980 than in 1979. In 1981, the opportunity presented itself for the delivery by Soviet vessels of additional freight for Iranian foreign trade, which will contribute to the economic development of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Soviet side informed Iranian specialists that in the next few years the USSR'S Caspian fleet would receive new, highly-efficient vessels of the "Ro-Ro" type, capable of delivering to Iranian ports cars and trucks, large containers and general cargo. The Iranian representatives showed interest in this innovation.

Present at the signing of the protocol was Mohammad Mokri, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR. He said that both countries bordered the Caspian Sea and that it was necessary for the USSR and Iran to solve problems in a good-neighborly way and to develop friendly ties. The head of the Soviet delegation, Vitaliy Zbrashchenko, noted that the conference had taken place in the spirit of businesslike relations that had been established and on the basis of mutual trust and respect.

SHCHERBITSKIY ADDRESSES UKRAINIAN KOMSOMOL PLENUM

WA301021 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Apr 81 pp 1-2

[Report on V. V. Shcherbitskiy speech at 15 April Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee plenum today is dealing with the very important and responsible tasks of the multimillion-strong detachment of the republic's Komsomol members and young people for fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The unanimous approval of the congress's decisions and the firm resolve of the Komsomol members and young men and women of the Soviet Ukraine to make a worthy contribution to their implementation testify to the political maturity and high civicism of our young people and their devotion to the cause of the party and the cause of the great Lenin.

The 26th CPSU Congress was an outstanding landmark on the Soviet people's heroic path toward communism and an event of truly historic dimensions and significance. It has armed the party and people with a precise and clear program. The ideas of the congress, the decisions it adopted and the CPSU Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev are currently at the center of our country's political life and are exerting a tremendous influence on the entire course of world events.

The package of constructive proposals aimed at settling the most acute and urgent problems of ensuring peace and the security of all peoples which the congress put forward has won exceptionally broad international approval. "Our proposals," Comrade L.I, Brezhnev emphasized in his speech at the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, "were not put forward for propaganda but to help toward mutually acceptable agreements being reached in the name of peace--peace in Europe, Asia, America and in the Near, Middle and Far East. In the name of universal peace." The firm, high-minded, Leninist foreign policy of our party is energetically and actively supported by our friends and allies, to which the congresses of the communists of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, which have been held, and the 10th SED Congress, which is under way, convincingly testify. This policy is approved by all honest people in this world and all to whom the ideals of peace and social progress are dear.

Comrades! Socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the plans of 1981 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole has currently been initiated extensively everywhere in our republic, as throughout the country. Many labor collectives and production innovators have come forward with new patriotic initiatives. They were evaluated highly in the recent CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree.

The results of the first quarter of this year testify that a pretty good start has been made in the republic. Output to the tune of R410 million has been sold over and above the plan in industry. The 3-month quotas for meat and egg procurements were fulfilled. Spring field work is developing along an increasingly broad front.

Our most important task is to do everything to ensure that the plans of the present year are not only fulfilled but also overfulfilled and to create strong process stock for the successful accomplishment of the new 5-year plan quotas.

It is pleasing to note that our youth, primarily the Komsomol members, is making an impressive contribution to the achievements of the workers of industry, agriculture and other sectors. Abiding by Vladimir Ilich Lenin's behests, they are participating actively in all things and displaying much innovation and useful initiative. This is very important. After all, the decisions of the party congress open to the Komsomol and all our young people new prospects and broad scope for enthusiasm and creativity.

We are proud that the Komsomol has always been a leading spirit in many good initiatives. Its glory has multiplied, entire generations of young people have grown to maturity and our personnel has graduated from a school of political and organizational conditioning precisely on the basis of concrete, large-scale acts. And, of course, full advantage must be taken of this valuable experience now, when qualitatively new tasks have to be accomplished and when the problem of the speediest completion of the transition to a predominantly intensive path of economic development has been made of paramount imprtance.

Your know from the material of the party congress, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy observed, that the economy's high growth rate will be maintained in the new 5-year plan. And, moreover, it has to be achieved not thanks to an increase in the volume of capital investments and labor resources. Therefore to secure the planned rate of development of all sectors of the economy and to implement the wide-ranging social program put forward by the congress there is only one way--the utmost intensification of social production, the use of potential already created and allocated resources with the greatest efficiency and an appreciable increase in labor productivity.

In our republic, for example, its growth rate in industry and agriculture is to be roughly 1.4 times higher than in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Understandably, achieving this without an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and without the extensive introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology, progressive techniques and foremost experience in simply impossible. It is in precisely these areas that our efforts are now concentrated. And here, comrades, is an extensive field for the application of the young people's creative forces. Here is something to work on for the Komsomol members of each industrial enterprise, each scientific establishment and each planning and design organization. Of course, this applies particularly to such major industrial and scientific centers and regions as Kiev, the Donbass, the Dnepr environs, Khar'kov, L'vov and Odessa.

In particular, a reduction in the amount of manual labor is an extraordinarily urgent task. The measures scheduled in the republic provide for no less than 1 million persons to be switched from manual to mechanized and automated labor in this 5-year plan.

It would be very good if the republic Komsomol assumed patronage of the development and introduction of small-scale mechanization facilities and switched in to this very important matter young scientists, specialists and production efficiency experts and inventors and all Komsomol organizations, primarily of machine-building enterprises, where more than half a million Komsomol members work.

Important tasks also confront the Komsomol organizations of such base sectors of industry as the coal, metallurgical, chemical and others.

The Komsomol's traditional patronage of the construction of large-scale national economic complexes merits the utmost support. Some 91 construction projects, including 27 all-union and republic projects, have currently been declared shock Komsomol projects in the republic. This is an important and necessary business. But at the same time it has to be said today at the plenum that at some of these construction projects plans are not being fulfilled and there are also shortcomings in the organization of labor and violations of labor discipline. The Komsomol organizations are working inadequately here. In a number of cases the necessary conditions are not being created for the young construction workers' work, social life and recreation.

Certain managers adopt an inattentive and sometimes simply bureaucratic attitude toward the needs of young people, and the Komsomol committees often occupy a conciliatory position. There were instances of the above at, among others, the construction of certain coal mines in Voroshilovgradskaya and Donetskaya oblasts and at the Chernobyl and Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES.

The republic Komsomol Central Committee should attentively investigate the organization of patronage work and strive to ensure that the shock Komsomol construction projects

be really model projects in terms of the organization of work, the young people's work and social conditions and the organization of educational and intra-Komsomol work. Of course, the party organizations and managers must render the necessary assistance here.

A.I. Korniyenko's report and the speeches of the plenum participants dealt with the concrete tasks which the republic Komsomol has scheduled for this 5-year plan in agriculture. Patronage of the introduction of industrial corn-cultivation techniques on an area of 400,000 hectares; competition of the Komsomol-youth collectives to obtain 400-500 quintals of sugar beet per hectare; and the Komsomol organizations' object work in animal husbandry, which Leonid Il'ich termed the shock front in the countryside--all this will undoubtedly be a worthy contribution of the Ukrainian Komsomol to realization of the food program.

I would just like to draw your attention to the fact that it is important in the accomplishment of these tasks to ensure a concrete, businesslike approach everywhere and to put the accent in all work on organization. This has to be mentioned because in previous years in patronage work in animal husbandry, say, the Komsomol committees would adopt many decisions, and a variety of, as they sometimes say, "detailed measures" would be approved. Nevertheless, last year one-fifth of the youth collectives failed to fulfill their socialist pledges, and the young people are not being retained at many livestock sections. There are many such instances in Vinnitskaya, Poltavskaya, Sumskaya, Cherkasskaya, Odesskaya and other oblasts. The good intentions here were obviously not supported by due organizational and political work, and the necessary production and cultural-social conditions were not created for the young men and women.

Practice is increasingly insistently putting forward the task of the all-around industrialization of agricultural labor and the speediest provision of all workers of the countryside with well-appointed housing with all conveniences and also kindergarten and creches and everyday and cultural establishments. As you know, the 26th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress entrusted the republic Gosplan, in conjunction with the oblispolkoms and ministries and departments concerned, with drawing up and implementing a program for the extension of social-cultural building in the countryside. Such a task as the creation in rayon centers of cultural complexes, including a cultural center, library, music school, museum, bookstore, park and sports and other facilities, was also set. It was also emphasized that each cultural center should unfailingly have a good amateur arts collective and an orchestra.

I believe that active participation in the accomplishment of these tasks could be a specific, combat act of the republic Komsomol organization. Of course, the Komsomol's actions here need to be closely coordinated with the soviet and business authorities. There should be a precise work plan in each oblast, and the student construction detachments should join in this work actively. Pretty good experience has been accumulated in this respect in Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast, for example. The Komsomol Central Committee should study it and disseminate it extensively.

Each Komsomol organization should schedule a concrete assignment for itself. It could be, for example, the young people's participation in the assimilation of an important new product or the introduction of progressive techniques, practical patronage of the construction of hostels or small-family homes and a kindergarten or creches, the creation of work and recreation camps for seniors or the organization of an interschool industrial-training center and so forth. This is very important both for the labor conditioning of the youth and also for the inculcation in the young people of a sense of collectivism, high responsibility and creativity. Experience also shows that precisely such practical acts are a good school of the training of capable young organizers who are able to surmount difficulties and bring what has been started to completion.

Unfortunately, the Komsomol organizations still frequently shirk participation in the accomplishment of large-scale economic and social tasks and fail to display due initiative. There are instances of Komsomol members embarking on useful acts ardently and enthusiastically, but then, on encountering certain difficulties, going off the idea and forgetting about their recent interesting and important intentions. This was the case,

for example, with the initiative of the Kievskiy Komsomol Gorkom concerning the creation of a recreation center for the capital's young people on the Dnepr islands. It should evidently return to this question, and the Kievskiy Gorkom and Gorispolkom should render the Komsomol members the necessary assistance.

I would like to emphasize another point. The young people's life is not made up solely of major acts impressive in scale and proportions. As observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, the complete and most rational use of everything that has been created by the people's labor is now the core of economic policy. A seemingly simple and routine matter, even. But as Vladimir Ilich Lenin pointed out, the heroism of routine work is no less important and requires no less courage than the heroism of an individual impulse. And our young people should understand this well.

It is the duty of the Komsomol organizations to inculcate in the young people a creative attitude toward work and irreconcilability toward shortcomings and to organize in a combat fashion a campaign for economies and thrift and the high quality of products.

Comrades! The 26th CPSU Congress pointed particularly to the need to reinforce the labor, moral and ideological-political education of the young peole and to refine the Komsomol's entire work on molding a generation of people who are politically active and knowledgeable, who love work and know how to work and who are always ready for the defense of the motherland.

As you know, the congress set the organization of many areas of ideologial and political education as an important, urgent task. The heart of the question is taking fuller account of the increased level of education and information and the broad range of the spiritual requirements of our people, primarily the young people. This naturally makes high demands both of the content and the form of educational measures. What benefit may be derived, for example, from lectures or political classes which amount merely to a recounting of truisms not linked with the specific tasks of the collective and which are, furthermore, presented, as is often the case, in tedious, bureaucratic language? The impression is given that certain Komsomol workers have lost their taste for agitation-propaganda work. Much is currently written and spoken about, for example, discotheques, special-interest clubs, amateur associations and so forth. This is useful if, of course, the young people's interests develop in the right direction. But certain Komsomol organizations pay insufficient attention to the young people's ideological, class and worldly conditioning and their patriotic and international upbringing.

We cannot for one moment forget that in the ideological confrontation with the socialist world our class enemy is gambling particularly on the ideological disarmament of the youth. For this reason we cannot fail to be disturbed by even isolated instances of young people's incorrect behavior and apoliticism.

It has been rightly said today that questions of atheistic education are being underestimated in a number of places. This makes it incumbent on the Komsomol Central Committee and the obkoms to adopt in good time effective measures to improve scientific-atheistic propaganda and render the Komsomol organizations concrete assistance.

At a meeting yesterday in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee with members of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and Komsomol obkom first secretaries, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on to emphasize, considerable attention was paid to questions of the young people's moral upbringing. The insufficient effectiveness of this work in a number of Komsomol organizations of Ternopol'skaya, Rovenskaya, Ivano-Frankovskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya Oblasts, in particular, was pointed out. The need for the decisive eradication of the manifestation of Philistinism, a consumer approach to life and various violations of the standards of morality and law and order by young people was discussed. Of course, it is not they who determine the appearance of our youth. But, unfortunately, incomprehensible patience toward violators of our morality is frequently displayed on the part of the Komsomol organizations. Can it really be considered normal when the incorrect conduct of certain Komsomol members is not even

discussed in the Komsomol organizations? Have questions of discipline, honesty, conscience and dignity become secondary for some people? How can this lack of principle be explained?

In our opinion, sharpness and a proper political approach on the part of individual Komsomol obkoms, certain gorkoms and raykoms and on the part of the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat even are lacking in these questions. We hope that the correct conclusions will be drawn from these criticisms. It is necessary, I believe, for certain Komsomol obkoms to work purposefully in one city or rayon, help the Komsomol and other public organizations organize educational work in exemplary fashion and then disseminate the accumulated experience in all organizations. In a word, these Komsomol organizations must switch from general appeals for a strengthening of public order and seemly conduct to concrete acts and systematic painstaking work. It is necessary to ponder all along the line how to step up the education of young men and women, make everyone familiar with highly productive labor and organize their leisure time in a more meaningful manner. Then the results will be good.

Just to take the following question, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy continued. The young people currently have more than 26,000 clubs and cultural centers, tens of thousands of libraries and move theaters and hundreds of stadiums, gymnasiums and swimming pools. Unfortunately, this strong physical plant is not always used with proper efficiency. The clubs and stadiums are often empty, while young people complain of being bored.

This is what a group of young people from Odesskaya Oblast's Limanskoye community wrote the newspaper KOMSOMOL'SKOYE ZNAMYA: "Ours is an urban-type community. It has a large and handsome House of Culture. It was built thanks to the sovkhoz. But it is always closed. And we write you because we young people are sick of going from homestead to homestead and house to house. There is nothing else for us to do in our spare time."

What can be said about this letter? It is sincerely written, but it makes for distressing contemplation. After all, the sovkhoz has a Komsomol organization (48 members), and many of the young people have secondary or higher education. Who should be organizing their leisure time? The Komsomol is obliged to resolutely take up arms against dependent sentiments and act as the instigator and organizer of the young people's meaningful, cultural leisure time.

It has also been rightly said today that the Komsomol organizations have paid more attention to such an important question as the strengthening of young families. This is also an urgent question, and every useful initiative here merits support.

In speaking of educational work is should be stressed that it must be performed with regard for the singularities and specific features of different categories of young people. This is not a new requirement, but it is not always taken into consideration in practice, particularly in work among students, schoolchildren and vocational-technical school trainees.

There has been a decline in the pass rate recently in certain VUZ's, in social subjects included. Only a negligible proportion of the students participates in scientific work here. Yet the main task of the student and his civic duty consist of successful studies and the mastery of a specialty and the fundamentals of a scientific philosophy of life. For this the student is afforded the privilege of studying at society's expense. Yet the demands of the Komsomol organizations in these matters are frequently understated. It is necessary to proceed from the fact that today's passive student is tomorrow's inadequate specialist and poor production organizer.

Following the previous Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee plenum, a pretty good plan of measures was outlined for an improvement in the work with vocational-technical school trainees. Unfortunately, a considerable part of it still remains on paper.

And one further matter. The Komsomol organizations have accumulated good experience of raising the youth on heroic traditions. This work must, of course, be continued. At

the same time it is very important to teach and raise the young people on the basis of the exploits of present-day heroes and, as they say, living examples taken from practice.

For just see, comrades: for the results of the last 5-year plan 60 foremost workers, kolkhoz members, national economy specialists and enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders were this year awarded the high title of hero of socialist labor. They are practically all wards of the Komsomol. Even now some of them, like, for example, Anatoliy Polishchuk, leader of a brigade of breakage face miners of the Trudovskaya (Donetsk) Mine, and Mariya Kalyuzhnaya, leader of a brigade of finishing workers of the Voroshilovgradkhimstroy Combine, head Komsomol-youth collectives. The life and work path of each of them is a splendid example to follow. But are the Komsomol and party organizations and our press, television and radio doing everyting to reveal and convey to the young people the greatness of their labor exploits? Of course, here is something else to work on. The young people should know present-day heroes just as well as the heroes of the first 5-year plans and learn from them how to work and live.

Comrades! I would like to support the proposals and ideas also expressed today from this platform concerning the need for a considerable improvement in the organization of internal work in the Komsomol. It has to be frankly admitted that the Komsomol Central Committee and obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have not yet achieved a position where the day-to-day life of each Komsomol organization is packed with interesting, absorbing deeds and distinguished by the high activeness of the Komsomol members and their enterprise, exactingness and high-mindedness and, I would say, a benevolent atmosphere.

What is the reason for this? Primarily the fact that the style and methods of work of many Komsomol committees do not correspond to current requirements. As mentioned in the speeches, their workers spend a large part of their time on compiling various reports and bulletins, preparation of numerous draft decress and the holding of every conceivable kind of meeting. But when do they attend Komsomol meetings, visit enterprises, construction projects, student lecture halls and hostels, call in during night shifts, attend young people's parties and visit stadiums and sports grounds?

It is necessary to decisively put an end to excessive bureaucratic memoranda and reports and cut the length of meetings through their better preparation.

Nor is everything as it should be when it comes to performance discipline among the Komsomol activists. After all, a considerable proportion of adopted decisions and measures which have been formulated is not implemented. And liberalism and a spirit of conciliation in these matters is impermissible. From the Komsomol Central Committee through the local organization it is necessary to ensure in practice that the secretary or bureau member of the corresponding Komsomol committee be responsible for the implementation of each adopted decision. Then fewer decisions will be adopted, their quality will be higher and they will be implemented better.

In the solution of day-to-day matters the Komsomol committees and bureaus must operate more boldly, display more initiative and not wait for instructions from above. It is necessary to struggle with might and main against formalism in Komsomol work. Formalism in any business is an evil, but in the Komsomol it is an evil squared.

Many Komsomol activists, particularly Komsomol organization secretaries elected for the first time, are simply unable to organize matters. They need to be taught the ABC, as they say, of Komsomol work. Others embark on many issues, but fail to bring them to completion. And for this reason pretty good initiatives sometimes prove to be a noisy fuss and a talking shop and sometimes window-dressing even.

We also encounter among Komsomol workers (not many, it is true) those who work without inspiration and fight shy of rough work, while some of them lose their modesty and scrupulousness. It seems to them that they have already understood everything, and nothing no longer troubles them. Of course, we must rid ourselves of such "young" bureaucrats and petty officials, and the quicker we do this, the better it will be.

It is necessary to promote more boldly to Komsomol work young specialists and capable, energetic and promising organizers and help them and teach them and--all along the line--increase exactingness toward them.

It is necessary to step up educational work with all who are working and studying insufficiently well and who are violating ethical standards. And if this does not help, we must proceed from the fact that the Komsomol card and the title of Komsomol member is not given out once for all. The right to this needs to be justified daily and hourly and confirmed by deeds.

It is necessary to enhance the responsibility, role and authority of each Komsomol member. The efficiency of the entire organization depends on this. The decisions of the 26th CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Congresses orient us toward precisely this. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decree adopted at the end of last year on an improvement in the work of the Komsomol organizations and their reinforcement with personnel also directs us toward this.

There is no intention of shifting the entire responsibility for educating the young people onto the Komsomol.

We all understand that success in the work of the Komsomol organizations will largely depend on the assistance and support of the party organizations. Unfortunately, we still have party organizations which are not working systematically and purposefully with the Komsomol. The Komsomol is the party's assistant and its reserve, and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will persistently increase the responsibility of the party committees and primary party organizations for the state of affairs in all areas of Komsomol work.

Almost 210,000 young communists--72,000 more than 5 years ago--currently work in the Komsomol. The party and Komsomol committees should rely more on this force in performing organizing and educational work among the young people, and more should be asked of the former.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will keep an attentive and exacting watch on how the tasks discussed at yesterday's meeting and today at the plenum are implemented and how the set specific questions are resolved with the appropriate organizations.

It is necessary to proceed from the fact that the new complex and important tasks require, primarily, the good use everywhere of methods which have given a good account of themselves, positive experience and a search for new paths and methods and, where necessary, new performers.

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy said in conclusion: the next all-union and Ukrainian Komsomol congresses will be held in roughly a year's time. Preparation for these congresses is a very responsible period. It is a time for the summation of results, an analysis of accumulated experience and determination of the paths of the most efficient accomplishment of the tasks which the party sets the Komsomol. Given your energy, very much may be done in this period. There is no doubt that the upcoming year will be marked by the creative work of the Komsomol and the shock labor of all young people to implement the socioeconomic program of the 11th Five-Year Plan formulated by the 26th party congress.

It is the high duty of and a matter of honor for the Komsomol members and all young people of the republic to multiply the glorious traditions of the Komsomol with selfless labor, excellent studies and active social work and, together with the communists and all Soviet people, strengthen the might of our beloved motherland and do everything for the successful realization of the historic decisions of our party's 26th congress.

(Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy's speech was received with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with applause)

PRAVDA URGES INCREASED WORKER ROLE IN MANAGEMENT

LD291447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 81 p 2

[Article by Prof D. Kaydalov, chief of the Moscow D.I. Mendeleyev Institute of Chemical Technology, Political Economy Department: "Social Factors of Economic Growth; The 26th CPSU Congress--Marxism-Leninism in Action"]

[Text] Setting new questions of the further improvement of the developed socialist society, the 26th CPSU Congress drew great attention from the party and Soviet public to the urgent need for the more active solution of the biggest program tasks of a clearly expressed social nature.

The welfare of the people and of each Soviet person is the supreme goal of the party's economic strategy. The necessary basis for further expanding the material potential for the solution of these humanitarian tasks is ensured by the growth of the economy and its resolute transfer to the lines of intensive development. But the link here is not one-sided but mutual. The progress of social production itself depends to an increasing degree on the solution of social problems and on man's development as the main production force. The 26th CPSU Congress documents express the demand for the efficient utilization of social factors making for economic growth.

The party congress decisions and the Central Committee report delivered by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev give an in-depth analysis of the most important problems on this plane, such as the improvement of material prosperity, the improvement of distributive relations on the basis of consistent implementation of the socialist principle of remuneration according to labor, the formation of sensible requirements and the improvement of the working people's professional qualifications, education and culture. They also examined in detail questions of improving production relations which, as is well known, constitute the foundation of all social relations and the basis of the organization of social life and the shaping of the new man. The task was formulated of constantly improving technical, economic and social working conditions and of "making man's labor not only more productive but also richer, more interesting and more creative." This contains an inexhaustible reserve for increasing the new system's production forces.

At the stage of developed socialism, the restructuring of the sum total of social relations on the basis of the collectivist principles inherent in socialism must be completed. Our reality provides an untold number of cases of initiatives and examples which help to attain this goal being generated in the very midst of the working masses. The team organization of labor, which is being introduced widely into practice and which, as is well known, must become the main form of organization of the 11th 5-Year Plan, is one such initiative.

This system of organizing labor substantially alters man's position in social production. It leads to a considerable expansion of the workers' labor functions and thereby creates conditions for the fuller development of their abilities. The changes in the organization of labor are naturally accompanied by changes in the system of remuneration. The place of the individual piece-rate worker is taken by collective piece-rate forms of remuneration and by collective material interest which acts as the medium for and consequently enriches and expands personal interest.

At the same time a system of mutual control is formed, rendering redundant rigorous outside control and detailed intermediate accounting (and also the excessive staff of managerial accounts personnel). Relations of true joint control of the means of production under the conditions of the team organization of labor are revealing their strength increasingly clearly--as each worker, and not merely team leaders and other representatives of the collective, is drawn into the management of the collective's affairs.

The growth of collectivist principles stemming from all this serves as one of the most important reserves for raising labor productivity to a new level, which assumes special significance, particularly in view of the aggravation of the manpower problem.

A careful, economical attitude toward manpower, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted at the congress, "is a complex matter requiring the solution of many tasks of an economic, technical, social and educational nature." There is now virtually no "unactivated" manpower, and that means there must be talk of its better, more rational utilization.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the law of the adaptability [peremena] of labor, discovered by Marx, which requires the greatest possible versatility on the part of the worker, assumes new topicality and significance. The transfer--expedient both economically and socially--of individual workers and entire groups from certain types of activity to others, from certain spheres of social production to others, is the most accessible and effective method of using reserves for organizing labor. That is precisely the path used by leading production collectives--the interchangeability of workers on the basis of the combination of related professions.

The boosting of the masses' social and labor activity is closely interconnected with man's multifaceted development. The more fully, profoundly and comprehensively man's abilities are developed, the more broadly the field of practical activity is opened up before him, the more the potential grows for applying his creative efforts and the more active he becomes in labor and sociopolitical life. More diverse and intensive activity promotes the further development of his powers and abilities. Such is socialism's specific source for the progress of society and its economy.

How to achieve the greatest yield from this source? Research by sociologists in recent years in the country's various economic regions shows that there are still many factors of various kinds restraining the growth of the working people's creative activeness. This activeness is insufficiently high, for instance, where people's labor activity--counter to the spirit of the age and the demands of our society--is limited to mere execution, to the performance of the functional duties assigned to workers "and not a bit more."

The expansion of the working people's participation in the production management and the consolidation of democratic principles in labor relations are a very important social factor for enhancing production efficiency. Labor discipline strengthens, and universal interest in the collective's success and the end results of production activity increases. The experience of the team organization of labor accumulated by many of the country's leading enterprises offers good convincing proof of this. But unfortunately it has still not become the possession of all.

According to figures from a study carried out by our department at the Azot science and production association (Tulskaya Oblast), over half the workers, or to be more precise 59.8 percent (among the women the figure is as high as 63.9 percent) take no part in any form of production management. This determines to a considerable extent the level of their labor activeness. "There is also a large number of nonparticipants among young people under 30--and, as is well known, it is particularly important for young people to have prospects in their life and work. Some of them told us: We grew up as workers here in the association. It was here that we settled down to married life, acquired apartments and rose to the top category in professional skill. We thank the association and its leadership very much for this. But we sometimes wonder: What next? The more we think about it, the more keenly we feel that we have reached a ceiling in our development and that there are no more prospects for growth."

Vital, specific participation in management is a very important means of increasing the workers' initiative and forming in them the sense of being the masters of production. Our study revealed omissions in this respect as well. After all, you cannot form a sense of responsibility and a proprietorial attitude toward matters merely by verbal influence. Here it is above all deeds which provide an educational effect: The higher the level of organization of labor and management, the more extensive the workers' real participation in management or production and the more beneficial the educational effect.

The better the mass struggle to save and mobilize internal resources and to make rational use of worktime, raw material and equipment is organized, the higher the initiative of each worker and the more fully his proprietorial approach to the common cause is implemented.

The reasons for the workers' insufficient participation in management at many enterprises are diverse. In some cases the reason is the lack of clearly formulated procedures for collectives of workers and employees to take particular managerial decisions within the limits of their competence; in others the reason is the inertia of outdated ideas that only officials can manage; in others the reason lies in deviations from existing legal norms and recommendations and in places their direct violation. In all cases there is insufficient consideration, in the practice of economic management, of the principle of democratic centralism on whose basis the management of socialist production is built.

Initiative from below--our entirely irreplaceable reserve in accelerating economic development--must not only be supported but developed, with the necessary conditions being created for this. It is important in particular to improve by every means the standard [kultura] of mutual relations in labor collectives, to enlist the masses more actively in the compilation, discussion and implementation of economic and social development plans. The role of a constructive atmosphere in the collectives is hard to overestimate: In a favorable sociopsychological climate a person experiences satisfaction with his work and life and it is easier for him to be a good, enterprising worker.

To describe this climate it is very important to know the public's assessment of working conditions, of labor incentives, of the economic leaders' cadres policy, of relationships in the collective and so forth. The sociological services which are emerging increasingly frequently within enterprises, institutions and organizations engage in the study of these questions. The constant growth of the significance of social factors making for economic progress demands all-round support for these services--their staffing with skilled cadres (this is especially difficult because by and large the training of sociologists is haphazard) and the improvement of the standard of their work and the value of the sociologists' practical recommendations. Unfortunately, scant attention is sometimes paid to these services, and in some shortsighted leaders they even generate a guarded, unhealthy attitude. Sometimes matters end with the elimination of these services on the pretext of cutting back on staff or reorganizing particular management echelons.

Yet many enterprise and association leaders who are equal to modern requirements view the sociological services' work differently. Here is a characteristic opinion voiced by Yu. N. Udovichenko, director of the Dalzavod [expansion unknown] (Valdivostok): "If a ship sails by night without a searchlight, it is easy to run aground. With a searchlight the danger is less. But it is even better with radar: The range of vision is incomparably greater and only what is needed comes within its field. So it is with sociology: It is a fine radar for the enterprise leader."

This approach is particularly important and necessary now that the 26th CPSU Congress has set serious tasks for improving production management and for making effective use of social factors of economic growth. There is an urgent need to create sociological services not only at enterprises and in institutions but also in ministries and departments--in order to raise the sociological culture of economic leaders to at least as high a level as their economic work and economic education.

USSR CONSERVING FUEL, NOT FACING ENERGY CRISIS

LD300700 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] The Soviet Union is self-sufficient in oil, natural gas and other fuels. What is more, it exports part of its output and will continue to do so. However, contrary to obvious facts, some mass media outlets in the West make dire predictions about the alleged energy crisis to (?hit) the USSR in the near future. They warn against expanding cooperation with the USSR in the energy field and make claims that the Soviet Union intends to seize Middle East oilfields. Is that really so? Professor Yevgeniy Konstantinov, a prominent economist, gives the answer:

The formal pretext for such false conclusions are reports in the Soviet media dealing with the nationwide economy drive involving material and energy resources, with fuel and energy coming first. As a matter of fact, this country is taking drastic steps toward energy conservation in all spheres of the national economy. The draft guidelines for the Soviet Union's economic and social development for the current 10 years reaffirmed this major policy line. This policy in no way contradicts the vast program for developing the energy base and introducing progressive changes in its structure. But, the Soviet Union plans to increase its oil production, together with gas condensate, nearly two-fold by 1985 as against 1970. For gas, the increase will be over three-fold and for electricity output, more than two-fold. This projected expansion in the key branches is all the more impressive if we look at the West, where the fuel and energy crisis tends to deteriorate and forecasts for the future are dim.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will retain its present share in the world fuel and energy output in the immediate future. The share will continue to be no less than one-fifth of the total world output. Yet, at the same time, conservation and rational use of oil, gas, coal, electricity and so on, will remain a major objective. Even if we economize 1 percent of the energy resources we are producing, in monetary terms, with an eye to the present world prices, the gain will amount to R1.9 million or over $3 billion by the official exchange rate.

In this decade we plan to replace outdated equipment, to push ahead with introducing energy conserving technologies and building nuclear powerplants. Much can be gained by researching in controlled nuclear synthesis, by the production of synthetic liquid fuels, by the use of solar energy and other alternative sources, and also from full utilization of secondary sources. All this means greater economy, especially if we bear in mind that the value of fuel and energy for export is ever on the rise. So the whole picture seems clear. Yet, our ideological opponents see something else in this. They are trying to present our energy conservation as a sign of an energy crisis. Who stands to gain from galvanizing this myth and its variation concerning the alleged Red danger growing for the Mideastern oil? The forces of international reaction are trying to make use of these inventions to prove that the Soviet economy suffered the same woes as the West does. Another aim behind these fabrications is to have a smokescreen for the Pentagon's aggressive schemes in the Gulf area.

Such anti-Soviet speculations, launched by the American Central Intelligence Agency and circulating in the world, are refuted by down-to-earth economic reality. The Soviet Union has everything it needs for tackling its energy problems, for helping its friends and allies and cooperating with all those who want it, on a fair and equitable basis.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS WORK OF MOSCOW SYMPOSIUM ON ENERGY

LD291337 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 81 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by D. Zhimerin, chairman of the organizational committee of the international symposium "The Significance of New and Renewable Energy Sources in Resolving Global Energy Problems," first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Energetics Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Text] The international symposium "The Significance of New and Renewable Energy Sources in Resolving Global Energy Problems" is being held in Moscow from 20 through 24 April 1981. This is a specific contribution to the preparation of the UN conference on new and renewable sources of energy which will take place this August. The symposium is organized by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology together with the UN Conference Secretariat.

In the report to the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted energetics among the important factors "for the further opening up of the field of states' practical peaceful cooperation."

The energy problem has acquired a global nature now. The tasks facing the world energy system require the pooling of the efforts of different states irrespective of their sociopolitical systems and differing levels of economic development. The solution of these tasks and the magnitude of the energy problem require enormous material financial and labor expediture including the implementation of environmental protection measures. All this taken together gives rise to the need for the international division of labor of scientists and energy specialists of many countries.

The consumption of energy in the world is growing rapidly. Thus, while in the early seventies it was approximately 7 billion tons of ideal fuel a year, the figure has now reached almost 10 billion tons.

The successful solution of the entire energy problem can be effected in two ways. First, by using nuclear energy, developing the extraction of coal, and shale and the further prospecting for oil and natural gas deposits, including on the continental shelf. Measures to increase the recovery of oil and gas from deposits are being outlined and implemented.

Second, there is the task of using solar, and geothermal energy, and the energy of the wind, rivers and oceans. It is becoming clear that people's growing requirements cannot be successfully satisfied without these energy resources with their enormous reserves which are nonetheless difficult to get at in order that they may be used. According to the estimate of specialists, particularly of the World Energy Conference, in the first quarter of the 21st century the share of new and renewable energy resources in the world energy balance could be only 8-10 percent. This is a rather modest, obviously inadequate proportion. For the timely restructuring of energy facilities and the creation of a fundamentally new technical base for energy it is essential to embark immediately on the assimilation of new renewable energy sources.

The 26th CPSU Congress noted that the Soviet Union intends "to take an active part in resolving international problems in the sphere of raw material, fuel and energy, food, environmental conservation, the peaceful development of space, the use of the world's oceans and in improving international economic relations on a just and equal basis." It is precisely these constructive positions that the USSR approaches the forthcoming holding, in 1981, of the UN conference on new and renewable sources of energy. Our country has come out with the initiative to organize in Moscow an international symposium, "The Significance of New and Renewable Energy Sources in Resolving Global Energy Problems."

Taking part in the work of the symposium are Enrique Iglesias, secretary general of the UN conference on new and renewable energy sources, and representatives of various international organizations and many states.

This symposium is one more new example of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy aimed at developing international cooperation with all countries of the world. This policy also envisages in particular the development of all-round economic, scientific and technical and other ties with the developing countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage and the rendering of all-round economic and technical assistance to these countries.

The program of cooperation and assistance to the developing countries in the energy sphere on both a multilateral and a bilateral basis should be founded on a comprehensive approach toward the development of fuel and energy resources. The orientation toward the independent accelerated development of the national power industry as the basis for the growth of industry and agriculture is also important. Here foreign aid can be viewed as an additional factor. The economically substantiated combination of the construction of traditional thermal, hydraulic and nuclear power stations and the creation of devices and equipment for the use of local resources, including solar, wind and geothermal energy and other types of nontraditional energy sources is also essential.

Contacts have expanded recently between UN international organizations and nongovernmental international energy organizations, for instance the World Energy Conference and the international conference on high voltage electric systems in whose work the Soviet Union is taking an active part. There is a constant exchange of the results of research. This makes it possible to pool the efforts of specialists in various spheres of energetics, to coordinate their work with the general trends in the world fuel and power economy and to avoid unnecessary duplication of research. Direct contacts between scientists and specialists make it possible to enhance the effectiveness of the exchange of information, experience and the latest achievements in individual spheres of energetics.

The USSR can render assistance to the developing countries in virtually all spheres of energetics, including the development of new methods for using traditional types of fuel, measures for saving and making rational use of fuel and energy resources, and the assimilation and development of new and renewable sources of energy. The forms of cooperation can be varied: the exchange of scientific and technical information, the rendering of aid in training national cadres, and carrying out joint research with the participation of interested countries.

The expansion of cooperation with the developing countries is a component of the Soviet Union's state policy and this determines the firm and long-term basis of this cooperation. We look into the future with optimism and we believe that mankind can cope with the solution of the global energy problem.

It must be emphasized that this solution is possible only under conditions of lasting peace, in an atmosphere of friendly mutual relations and trust among the peoples. And the Soviet Union's foreign policy, reaffirmed in the new peace initiatives advanced in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress, is aimed at this goal of paramount importance to mankind.

CONFERENCE ON NATURAL GAS HELD IN TASHKENT

GF291844 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Excerpt] A conference on various methods of utilizing natural gas was held in Tashkent recently. Experts from Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Central Asian republics attended the conference. This scientific conference discussed (?new ways of utilizing) natural gas in industry and [words indistinct].

CONFERENCE DISCUSSES PERSONAL SUBSIDIARY FARMING

LD290959 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Apr 81 p 2

[Report by P. Vaynshteyn on the all-union scientific and practical conference on problems of the development of personal plots: "Part of Our Common Wealth"]

[Text] M. G. Vasyliv secretary of Lvovskiy Ukrainian CP Obkom, was among those who delivered reports at the first plenary session of the conference. Citing concrete examples from the oblast's life, he revealed the potential of personal plots and their role in improving the population's well-being. This was also the theme of speeches by T. N. Konovalov, first secretary of Glazunovskiy Raykom, Orlovskaya Oblast; I.V. Grinashkevich, chief of the Grodnenskiy Oblispolkom agricultural production administration, and many other conference participants who had come to Moscow to discuss with scientists the topical problems relating to the developing of personal plots.

As All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences Academician A.A. Nikonov stressed, these plots are an integral part of socialist agricultural production and the discussion of questions relating to their further development in all aspects--economic, social and educational--is of tremendous significance for the successful implementation of the good program which is being elaborated at the behest of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Take Lvovskaya Oblast, for example. We are familiar with its successes in the development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production. Possessing around 0.29 of a hectare of arable land per inhabitant, it is steadily increasing the productivity of farming and livestock raising. In the 10th 5-Year Plan it increased gross agricultural production by 11 percent and labor productivity by 31 percent. It is actively introducing industrial production techniques. But, at the same time, the oblast party organization is trying to ensure that on all the 437,000 plots belonging to the population every inch of land is utilized.

The population is raising 476,000 head of cattle. The figure includes the 235,000 cows they keep. The rural families are completely self-sufficient and they sell a considerable proportion of their surplus products to the state or take them to the market. Recently widespread use has been made of processes involving the integration of personal plots and social production by concluding contracts with kolkhoz members, on a voluntary basis, whereby they raise livestock.

While steadily strengthening the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy, Grodnenskaya Oblast is also pursuing a firm line toward all-round suppprt for personal plots. There are 96 head of cattle and 126 hogs for 100 rural families.

Many similar examples were cited during the 2-day conference organized by the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System. USSR Deputy Minister of Agriculture A.I. Iyevlev, who delivered a report entitled "Personal Plots in the USSR Agricultural System," recalled what Comrade L.I. Brezhnev had said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are still the basis of socialist agriculture. But this by no means signifies that we can neglect the potential of personal plots. Experience shows that plots can be of great help in the production of meat, milk and some other products. The orchards, vegetable plots, poultry and livestock belonging to working people are part of our common wealth."

And the discussion developed along the lines of the theme of eradicating neglect for the potential of personal plots and making better use of them.

The main thing it demonstrated was that the measures outlined in 1977 by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on increasing production on citizens' personal plots and on further developing fruitgrowing and vegetablegrowing and also the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted early this year on additional measures to increase agricultural output on citizens' personal plots are playing a tremendous role.

Last year alone agricultural enterprises sold to the population 14.8 million piglets, 907,000 head of young cattle and 570 million chicks. This is 1.7-1.8 times more than 10 years ago.

Yet far from all reserves for increasing production on personal plots are being utilized. The conference split up into two sections: one to discuss general problems relating to the personal plot and the other to discuss collective fruitgrowing and vegetablegrowing and other forms of personal plot farming. Each of them and the plenary sessions conducted a comprehensive analysis not only of positive experience but also of negative phenomena which are causing reductions in personal plot output in some republics and oblasts.

Doctor of Economic Sciences G.I. Shmelev, Social Economic Problems of Agriculture Subdepartment chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Specialist System, delivered a report on problems relating to the development of personal plots. His report and the speeches by other scientists from Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent, Saratov and Tallin, Novosibirsk and Vilnyus, Yaroslavl and other places showed that economic science is increasingly getting to grips with the practical data. Moreover, the "sore spots" in the entire spectrum of problems have been precisely located--from persistent difficulties concerning supplies of fodder and young animals for personal plots to unregulated purchases of surplus products from the population, bureaucratic attitudes toward the family's right to dispose of its products, the need to improve supplies of production means for personal plots and so forth.

There was a broad discussion of questions connected with expanding cooperation and integration between social production and personal plots, the practice of conclusion and implementation of contracts between the population and kolkhozes, sovkhozes and consumer cooperatives. Important questions were raised, in particular, by V.M. Sinyakov, chief of the Tsentrosoyuz Main Administration for the Procurements Trade (Glavkoopzagottorg).

Great attention was devoted to legal questions relating to personal plot farming and collective fruit growing and vegetablegrowing, the sphere's influence on the education of the younger generation and its role in making better use of manpower. There was discussion of experience of solving these problems in a number of other socialist countries, in particular Hungary and the GDR.

The recommendations adopted by the scientific and practical conference state the advisability of a broad system of measures to ensure the successful functioning of personal plots as an integral part of socialist agricultural production and the creation of a normal social climate for them. The conference reaffirmed that the skillful combination of increasing production in kolkhozes and sovkhozes with the population's personal plot farming and the development of workers' and employees' fruitgrowing and vegetablegrowing associations is an important factor in the successful implementation of the tasks of further improving the people's well-being advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress.

EDITORIAL VIEWS ARMED FORCES INTERNATIONALISM

LD290915 Moscow KRANSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Army of Patriots and Internationalists"]

[Excerpts] Soviet servicemen greeted with a sense of great pride the remark about our fatherland's armed defenders made by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress. "Standing now in the ranks of the motherland's defenders," Leonid Ilich said, "are the sons and grandsons of the Great Patriotic War heroes. They have not undergone the severe tests which befell their fathers and grandfathers. But they are loyal to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And whenever it is demanded by the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace, whenever it is necessary to help the victims of aggression, the Soviet serviceman stands before the world as a selfless and courageous patriot and internationalist ready to overcome any difficulties."

The Soviet Armed Forces are fulfilling their responsible tasks together with the Warsaw Pact states' armies. The friendship among the fraternal armies' servicemen, a friendship born in the fire of battle, is vivid evidence of the triumph of internationalism's ideas.

One cannot fail to be proud today of our combat comrades in the limited Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan. In helping that country's people to defend themselves against aggression and to build a new life they are acting as selfless and courageous patriots and internationalists. Their service, training and courageous and noble deeds are an example of loyalty to the glorious traditions of the older generation of Soviet servicemen.

Soviet patriotism and internationalism are the powerful sources of the strength of our state and our army. This is why the Communist Party regards it as one of its most important tasks to assert in the consciousness of working people--especially the younger generation--the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, pride in our motherland and a readiness to rise to the defense of socialism's gains. Instilling these qualities in Soviet servicemen has been and remains one of the most important tasks of all ideological and political education work in the army and navy.

In the armed forces, as throughout the country, work has now been launched to implement the 26th CPSU Congress decisions. It is important that all this work be closely linked with instilling in every serviceman a sense of personal responsibility for the motherland's defense and for the cause of socialism. To vividly reveal the Soviet people's successes, the Leninist party's leading role in communist creation and our armed forces' heroic traditions is to create a firm basis for new successes in increasing the vigilance and combat readiness of units and ships.